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# IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

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## HEARING

BEFORE THE

## COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORMATION
OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

NOVEMBER 16, 1981

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# HELSINKI COMMISSION HEARINGS ON FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF FORMATION OF UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

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MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1981

House of Representatives,
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe,
*Washington, D.C.*

The Commission met, pursuant to notice, at 3 p.m. in room 2322, Rayburn House Office Building, The Honorable Dante B. Fascell (Chairman of the Commission) presiding.

Mr. Fascell. The Commission will come to order. I'm delighted to welcome all of you, witnesses, guests and media, here today to this open meeting of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

We are meeting today to pay public tribute to the numerous important contributions to the Helsinki process of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

Five years ago, on November 9, 1976, 10 brave men and women in Kiev organized a citizens' group to examine how the Soviet Government was living up to its Helsinki human rights pledges. Tragically, however, far from greeting this new civic endeavor, the Kremlin, in a savage campaign of official reprisal, singled out the Ukrainian Helsinki Group for especially harsh treatment. Today, 30 group activists are in Soviet camps, prisons, and places of exile.

For the Kremlin, Ukraine has always been a source of anxiety due to strong nationalist feeling among the 40 million Ukrainians, and to popular adherence to the two Ukrainian national churches, the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox, which are banned by the Soviet Government. One indication of such official mistrust is that Ukrainians compromise about half of the political prisoners in the Soviet Union.

Since August 1980, Polish unrest has provided the Kremlin with yet another reason for harsh reaction to dissent in Ukraine. Despite official repression however, the work of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group continues: Ukrainian prisoners have formed a Helsinki Group in the camps and Ukrainian activists who are now in the west established the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to publish information bulletins on the situation in Ukraine.

We are fortunate to have with us today four witnesses to provide us with expert testimony on Ukraine and the Helsinki process. The fate of our witnesses also gives an insight into the radically different ways in which our Government and that of the Soviet Union has reacted to citizen interest in the Helsinki process. Mr. Ritter.

Mr. **Ritter**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to commend you for your long-standing interest in this most important matter.

I think Ukraine stands out in the Soviet Union as being the largest of the nations that are subsumed under Soviet power. It is a very dynamic nation. Its people are extremely creative. And I wonder, had Ukraine a greater amount of freedom would that hurt the Soviet Union or would it indeed add to the ability of that country to solve its own problems, economic, and agricultural?

We witness here today an extremely powerful irony. Sitting in our midst with a tape recorder on is a representative of the Tass News Agency, Alexander Liutyi. Alexander Liutyi is sitting here with complete freedom to listen, take notes, and record everything that goes on here today. This information he can bring back to his Soviet Embassy hierarchy and study what was said here, and then bring it back into the system through the wonderful channels that they enjoy, the channels of communication such as the KGB and the GRU.

Mr. Liutyi is smiling at this moment. I wonder if he would be smiling if he had had the faith to be a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. I wonder if he would be smiling or if he would be holding a tape recorder in a Soviet meeting, a hearing on the Helsinki Commission's activities, whether or not in the Soviet Union today they are holding public hearings on the accomplishments of Helsinki. Think about it, Mr. Liutyi and take that message back to your superiors, please.

I'd like to do what I consider great honor and introduce a gentleman who needs no introduction, a gentleman who is named Maj. Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko. Major General Grigorenko, a highly decorated veteran of World War II, abandoned his prestigious position in Soviet society to struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union. After spending 4 years in psychiatric institutions as punishment for his activities, General Grigorenko was allowed to travel to the West for medical treatment during which time his citizenship was revoked by the Soviet Union.

I wonder if there has ever been any open hearings in the Soviet Union on their use of the wonderous techniques of psychiatric imprisonment for dissidents.

Accompanying General Grigorenko and reading his statement in English is Ms. Christina Isajiw, coordinator of the Human Rights Division of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

General Grigorenko's testimony will be translated by Mr. Andrij Karkov of Smoloskyp. General Grigorenko.

Mr. **Fascell**. While the general is coming up, let me ask my colleague, Mrs. Fenwick, for some opening remarks on this hearing commemorating the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

Mrs. **Fenwick**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would not want to delay the testimony of this witness. I can remember writing many years ago asking for his release and to see him here is a great comfort to all of us. We welcome you, general, we welcome you. Thank you for coming.

## STATEMENT OF MAJ. GEN. PYOTR GRIGORENKO, FOUNDING MEMBER, MOSCOW AND UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUPS

General Grigorenko [through translator]. Mr. Chairman, Members of Congress, cherished guests. November 9 marks the fifth anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. By this time, the Moscow Helsinki Group had been functioning for six months and had already accumulated some experience and earned international recognition. From the very beginning the Moscow Helsinki Group gave decisive support to its newlyborn ally.

Resolute support from the Moscow Group eased the beginning for its Ukrainian counterpart, although specifically Ukrainian problems could only be addressed by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Such problems were formidable, originating in centuries of living without an independent Ukrainian state. The last attempts to establish an independent Ukrainian state had been defeated in the 1920's. The subsequent decisive Bolshevik victory in the civil war completely crushed the prerevolutionary Ukrainian national cadre who were either demoralized and separated, destroyed or forced to emigrate.

The separate Soviet Ukrainian state did not last long. Having liquidated the Ukrainian Soviet intelligentsia as well as the party and government cadre, the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), headed by Stalin abolished all sovereign rights of Ukraine. Today's so-called Ukrainian Soviet Republic is nothing more than a bureaucratic hierarchy of overseers who are deprived of the most elementary rights. Ukrainians suffered tremendous losses during the holocaust of the dispossession of the property of the so-called kulaks (the only producing farmers of the time), artificial famine of the 1930's, the pre-war Stalinist terror of the 1930's and 1940's, the war with Nazi Germany and suppression of the Ukrainian independence movement by both the German and Soviet armies. All these events inflicted losses of at least 17 million human lives: Every fourth Ukrainian died.

One can imagine the horror that gripped the Ukrainian people after such repressions if to bring defeat of a rebellious army unit one must execute every tenth man. Gripped with fear, the people of Ukraine lost any ability to organize in the face of additional harsh reprisals from the government.

Abhorrent illegal methods are used by the Soviet authorities. Unidentified hooligans raid homes of the group members—such as Mykola Rudenko and Oksana Meshko—and dissidents are summoned to KGB for warnings. During house searches the following materials are confiscated: Manuscripts and books; paper and carbon paper; typewriters; photos; cameras; tape recorders with recordings and unused tapes; newspaper, magazine and book clippings; money, and saving books; various documents, including trial transcripts; copies of complaints and correspondence with various party, state, court and investigatory agencies. In fact, those were not searches but legalized robberies; after such searches, families were left with no money for groceries. Obviously, Ukrainian Helsinki Group members, their relatives and friends were fired from their jobs.

After the Belgrade CSCE Conference, arrests increased. In view of Western unwillingness to risk Soviet-Western relations as a result of treatment of Soviet dissidents, Soviet leaders started an open punitive campaign. Numerous arrests were made during, before and after the Olympics and Madrid Conference, 1979–80. Two years earlier, in 1977–78, only five members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were arrested: Rudenko, Tikhy, Marynovytch, Matusevytch, Lukyanenko, Petro Vins and Iosif Zisels; in 1979–80, however, 16 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were arrested: Berdnik, Ovsienko, Sichko, Litvin, Gorbal, Striltsiv, Rozumnyi, Kalinychenko, Lesiv, Geiko-Matusevych, Krasivsky, Chornovil, Sokulsky, Stus, Meshko, were imprisoned. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group withstood these blows only due to steady inflow of 19 new members. A Helsinki group was organized in a labor camp, with a nine-member Ukrainian section.

Absolute arbitrariness reigned in courts of the country; no attempt was made to conduct an investigation or to vertify the information compiled by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Instead, the main purpose of the trials was to restrict information within the bounds of the courtroom. Therefore, trials took place far from urban centers and only KGB agents were admitted as spectators.

A favorite new tactic of the Soviet authorities now is to accuse a political dissenter in criminal acts. Such cases are created easily. Here is just one example: Dissident Alexander Feldman had been convicted as a "malicious hooligan." What was the corpus delicti of the "crime"? On his way home Feldman met a girl standing in a lobby of his apartment house. She was holding an unwrapped cake in her hand. As soon as the girl saw Feldman, she screamed and dropped the cake at his feet. Two men in militia uniforms came running up. A captain and his driver "happened" to pass by in a car and heard the girl screaming, Feldman was detained and convicted. Although the girl could not explain what she was doing in Feldman's house, he was sentenced to 5 years of labor camp, even though it was later learned that the girl was a police lieutenant and served in the same unit as both of her witnesses.

Nevertheless, Feldman was lucky: after his release, he emigrated to Israel. He might, however, never have gotten out; while in camp Feldman was assaulted and heavily wounded in the head. The Helsinki Group publicized this incident, but the authorities didn't react.

Similar false charges which denigrate personal pride and dignity were brought against 7 out of 25 convicted members of the group: Vasyl Ovsienko, Petro Rozumnyi, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykola Gorbal, Vasjl Striltsiv, Yaroslav Lesiv, Petro Vins.

Vyacheslav Chornovil in his letter from labor camp to the Presidium of the CPSU 26th Congress wrote: "I, with all the other participants in the Helsinki movement, are not a victim of a judicial error. We are victims of internal terrorism. I have every reason to consider myself a hostage of Politburo, since my imprisonment is not determined by some fictitious verdict, but by the domestic and international situation, to a considerable extent as a result of CPSU policy."

False verdicts are not the main goal of the Soviet Government. It consistently is conducting a policy of physical extermination of the opposition. That is why the young and healthy are being killed with new sentences. For instance, Mustafa Dzhamilev is finishing his 14th year in prison on his sixth sentence. Reshat Dzhamilev, another participant in the national movement of the Crimean Tartars, and Genrikh Altunyan, military engineer and a former professor of a military academy, are also serving their second terms. Older prisoners, exhausted by long prison terms and diseases, are sent to special regime camps where they live on the verge of hunger and see no sunlight.

Tykhy, Lukyanenko, Kalenychenko, Sokulsky, Stus, Kandyba, Berdnyk were sent to such a camp. Only Berdnyk has a 6-year sentence, whereas others are sentenced to a maximum term of 10 years.

Chornovil concluded his open letter with the following words:

> Having served for 20 years legal opposition to the CPSU social and national politics with a tremendous ordeal behind me, I have found myself an outlaw imprisoned for life. Under the circumstances, I see no alternative but to struggle for my release and emigration from the USSR, since here there is not a slightest possibility for my literary and political activity.

Unfortunately, there is not much hope for emigration for Chornovil, Kandyba, Svetlichnyy, Sergienko and Shumuk and many other terrorized dissidents who would also like to emigrate. They are not allowed to leave the country; there are only two choices for them: either to die in prison, or "recant" spending their lives in subservience to the government, running the treacherous KGB errands.

Early on the Ukrainian Helsinki Group discovered cases of criminal abuse of psychiatry by the Soviets. After 4 years of investigation by the Working Commission for Investigation of Abuses of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, after arrival in the West of psychiatrist M. Voikhanskaya, poet N. Gorbanevskaya, worker V. Borisov, mathematician L. Plushch, Gen. P. Grigorenko, worker B. Fainberg and psychiatrist-consultant of the Working Commission, Dr. A. Voloshanovich, there is little doubt that the Soviet Union extensively has used psychiatric terror against dissidents.

Four years ago, even though dissidents doubted correctness of such information, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group documented such abuse, corroborated by Kiev psychiatrist, Semyon Gluzman, and Working Commission consultant, Anatoly Koryagin, from Kharkov.

Although psychiatric terror has been exposed, it has not stopped. Anatoly Lupinos and Iosip Terelya still serve long terms of psychiatric prison confinement. Absolutely healthy mining engineer from Donbass, Aleksey Nikitin has been diagnosed as not responsible for his actions and sent to the horrifying Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Prison. Unknown dissidents, especially those from remote areas, suffer even more since they are isolated in psychiatric prisons via the psychiatric dispensary system.

The persecution of political prisoners' families is intensifying, although their situation has never been easy. Earlier, they had been fired from jobs, expelled from schools, denied propiska (residence permit) to force them to move to places unsuitable for living. Now family members are arrested and convicted on charges brought against their relatives, who were convicted earlier. In Kiev, Mykola Matusevich's wife, Olga Geiko, was arrested. In Dolin, Ivano-Frankovsk region (Ukraine), three members of the Sichko family, (father and his two sons) were arrested. In Moscow, imprisoned dissident Sergei Kovalev's son, Ivan, and his son's wife, Tatyana Osipova, were arrested. This year, Ukrainian Helsinki Group leader, Mykola Rudenko's wife, Raisa Rudenko, was arrested; her reward for dedication to her husband's ideals.

From the first days of Rudenko's imprisonment, the Soviets have been trying to extort a recantation from him in exchange for freedom. It is very important for the Soviets to destroy the spiritual foundation of Rudenko's group. Rudenko, however, is steadfast in his struggle for human dignity and for his life's cause. Raisa has always been his moral support in the struggle against arbitrariness.

According to the latest information, Raisa Rudenko was tried in absolute secrecy in September 1981. She was charged with "anti-Soviet propaganda" and confined to 5 years of strict regime camp and 5 years in exile. What a mockery of justice: Raisa tried to tell the truth about her husband, to defend him; therefore she was charged with anti-Soviet propaganda and imprisoned for 10 years.

Let me conclude. The KGB has gained a clear victory. All announced members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group are in graves, prisons. camps, places of exile, psychiatric prisons or in emigration. I have appended further information about this situation. Only several members who did not publicize their names are still at liberty. The KGB has isolated anyone whom they suspect could reactivate the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; and warned not to announce membership since they would immediatly be arrested and sentenced. This is the KGB "victory."

And yet the government also has suffered a formidable defeat. No one in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has pleaded guilty or written a letter of repentence. No one has even appealed for a pardon (with "repentence").

Even under these difficult conditions—typical for Ukraine—information from the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has reached the people. A stream of letters from all over Ukraine began. The group's permanent correspondents were very brave. New members joined the group during its most difficult days.

Here are some figures:

Ten men and women founded the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Now there are 34 Group members in camps, prisons, exile, psychiatric prisons and in emigration. So, over a 5-year period, the Group's membership tripled. There are also, however, unacknowledged members who are not broken and who haven't gone underground. These people still believe in the basic principles of the Helsinki movement: no underground, no terror, only the truth. And the truth requires legality, strict adherence to the facts, an open defense of human rights in the struggle for freedom and the right for Ukrainian national independence.

We know one must act together to defend Helsinki ideals. We need international cooperation. The first such step should be acceptance by Helsinki, signatories of a "Declaration of Right to Control the Fulfillment by Governments the Resolutions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Inadmissibility of Criminal and Administrative Persecution for it" (appendix 4, project Declaration). Acceptance of this declaration, even without the Soviet Union and her satellites, might be a powerful propoganda weapon for dissidents and free countries and could create a favorable moral climate for development of the Helsinki movement.

The Ukrainian Public Group to promote the Implementation of Helsinki Accords, at the suggestion of several of its imprisoned founding members, has proposed a long-term international campaign: "For Peace Via Unconditional Fulfillment of Helsinki Accords." The first step, of this campaign would be gaining the release of all imprisoned participants of the Helsinki movement and the proclaimation of a declaration of the right of public control over government implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

[Written statement of Maj. Gen. Grigorenko follows:]

WRITTEN STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY MAJ. GEN. GRIGORENKO

## FIVE YEARS OF CIVIC COURAGE

(Statement of the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group on the Occasion of the Fifth Anniversary of the Formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group)

On November 9 of this year the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords (the Ukrainian Helsinki Group) marked the fifth anniversary of its creation.

### 1. The Formation of the Group

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group came into being half a year after the formation of the Moscow Helsinki Group. This fact enabled it to take advantage of the experience gained by the Moscow Group. As a member of the Moscow chapter of Amnesty International, the founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group -- the prominent Ukrainian poet and philosopher Mykola Rudenko -- also had considerable experience in the defense of human rights. As he set about organizing the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, M. Rudenko thoroughly studied the work of the Moscow Group, consulting frequently with Yuri Orlov, Valentin Turchin, Petro Grigorenko and other members of the Moscow group, as well as with Academician Andrei Sakharov. Not only did M. Rudenko observe the way in which the Moscow group conducted its activities, but he participated in this group's work. This, as well as the unqualified support enjoyed by the Moscow Group, which had by this time gained considerable international prestige, helped the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to gain in strength.

These, however, were the only favorable circumstances. Soon, as was expected, all sorts of difficulties arose, and there was no one to turn to for help in overcoming them. These difficulties resulted from the fact that the Ukrainian people had not enjoyed national sovereignty for centuries. Attempts to create an independent state in 1917-1920 proved unsuccessful. The Bolshevik victory in the civil war resulted in the defeat of the pre-revolutionary national cadres: some were physically liquidated, others emigrated. Those who remained in their homeland were demoralized and divided. Soviet Ukrainian statehood was of short duration. The All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) headed by Stalin exterminated the Ukrainian national intelligentsia, party and economic cadres, abolished all of Ukraine's sovereign autonomous rights. The so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of today is no more than a bureaucratic hierarchy of overseers over a people wholly deprived of its rights. Moreover, this people is disorganized and lives in a state of perpetual fear. Our nation has suffered collosal losses: the ruthless mass extermination during the so-called "dekulakization", the artificial famine at the beginning of the thirties, the Stalinist terror of the 1930s and 1940s, the war with Nazi Germany, the suppression of the Ukrainian liberation movement by Nazi German and Soviet armies cost the Ukrainian nation no less than 17 million lives. Every fourth inhabitant of Ukraine perished. One can imagine the terror that gripped the entire Ukrainian nation as a result of such tribulations, if one takes into account that it is enough to shoot every tenth man in a rebellious army unit in order to bring it to submission. Gripped with fear, the people lost their ability to organize. In Ukraine, just as in the entire Soviet state, there are only organized pens, into which human beings are herded like cattle, the more easily to be supervised. Only a very few are able to break out of these pens and organize themselves into groups without permission from the overseers of the bureaucratic state. Especially since society is periodically purged of such daredevils. The last purges in Ukraine, to which the new generation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia was subjected, were carried out not long before the formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group (see Supplement 1). The population still feels the effects of this purge. Some became inactive. The more courageous young people, however, continued to be disturbed by the situation and sought new ways to oppose repression within a legal framework. The Helsinki movement seemed to offer a fitting form for this activity. In these conditions, it was necessary to find several people who would show the necessary initiative and, having organized, would steadfastly defend their rights. People who would not retreat in the face of terror, people who would not "recant", since any sort of "recantation" demoralizes all potential opposition, destroys faith in the possibility of successful struggle.

It was with this in mind that Ukrainian Helsinki Group members were selected and the group's program of activities developed. In its very first document, the group emphasized that it was not a political organization, that it was a legal organization, whose goal it was to defend human rights. The group's declaration stated: "In its activities, the group is guided not by political, but by humanitarian and legal motives."

"The group considers its main task to be to bring to the attention of the governments of states that signed the Helsinki Accords and of the world public the violations on the territory of Ukraine of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the humanitarian articles approved by the Helsinki Conference." Appended to this declaration was a complete list of group members and their home addresses. Thus, the group did not represent anything illegal or dangerous to the state. Everything was in accordance with the law and in the interests of the people. But these steps had been taken on the initiative of individuals without permission of the party or the government. This the authorities deemed dangerous. This they could not allow. Since, however, there was no basis for an open prohibition, the government was forced to wage an undeclared war on the group.

## 2. The Beginning of War

Immediately after the formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was announced, during the night of November 9-10, a gang of "unknown" thugs staged an attack on the apartment of Mykola Rudenko. Rocks and pieces of brick flew in through the windows, the glass panes shattered, the walls shook. The apartment remained "under fire" for nearly a half hour. A brick fragment injured the hand of then 70-year old Oksana Meshko, one of the two women in the apartment at the time of the attack. Summoned by telephone, the militia showed no haste in arriving, and, once there, reacted to the situation with placid indifference. Predictably, the attackers were never found. This beginning augured little good.

Soon the KGB began summoning the group's founding members and issuing warnings to them. The illegality of such summons is not in question. Soviet law does not prohibit the formation of humanitarian organizations. However, without burdening itself with the need to present evidence, the KGB pronounced the given group to be anti-Soviet. Hence, the KGB announced, if any individual who had been issued a warning did not leave the group, he would be arrested. Failure to obey the KGB's orders would be viewed by the court as a circumstance that aggravates the guilt of the party in question. Not a single member of the group subscribed to this interpretation of the law, and no one left off working in defense of human rights.

The beginning of December ushered in the first searches and confiscations. Among the things taken were typewritten texts, books, plain and carbon paper, typewriters, photographs and cameras, tape recorders, tapes and unused tape cassettes, clippings and copied passages from newspapers, magazines and books (including Soviet publications), money (cash and savings books), various documents that included earlier court verdicts, copies of complaints and statements addressed to various party, state, judicial and investigatory institutions, replies to these and so forth. In fact, these were not legal searches, but robberies. After a search, a family would be left without means to buy bread. Group members and people close to the group were dismissed from their jobs.

The first arrests were made at the beginning of February -- February 4 and 5. The leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

Mykola Rudenko and one of the group's most active members, Oleksa Tykhy, were arrested. During the searches in their apartments, attempts were made to plant foreign currency and pornographic materials at M. Rudenko's home, and weapons at O. Tykhy's. In both cases the attempted frame-ups failed, but they put everyone on alert. It was evident that the authorities were preparing a harsh campaign of reprisals.

What could the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and its members do to counter this campaign? How could they respond to the brutal war waged against them by the authorities? Only with determination to continue defending human rights and the articles of the Helsinki Final Act by exposing the violations of this act, with wide publicity, personal courage and an uncompromising stand. The difficulties and dangers that threatened at every step did not deter the group. Its documents in defense of human rights followed one upon another. Frequently, the same work had to be repeated, because the group's documents were intercepted by the KGB and the militia during house searches and the surprise personal searches to which they subjected group members and people close to the group on the streets of Kiev and in other cities. In this way some documents were lost and it proved impossible to reconstruct them.

The repressions grew worse. Attacks by "unknown" hooligans began occurring with increasing frequency. Group member Petro Vins was severely beaten on two occasions. Marko Bilorusets was beaten each time he tried to visit any of his friends who were involved in the defense of human rights. An armed attack was made on the apartment of group member Oksana Meshko, and the 70-year old woman was forced to flee for her life to her neighbors. Mysterious deaths began occurring once again. The murder of the artist V. Kondratyshyn was added to unsolved murders of artists V. Paletsky and Alla Horska. The mysterious deaths continued in the years that followed. A priest named Gorgula and his wife were killed in their house and the house was set on fire. The writer Heliy Snyehiryov was tortured to death in the KGB's torture chambers. The body of the popular Ukrainian composer Volodymyr Ivasyuk was found hanging from a tree,bearing traces of torture. He was last seen alive getting into a KGB car accompanied by two husky and physically well trained stalwarts. Group member Mykhaylo Melnyk, a historian, committed suicide in the village of Pohreby near Kiev, harrassed beyond endurance by the unrelenting persecution of the authorities. He had been dismissed from work in his profession and refused other employment; thereupon, he was threatened with charges of "parasitism" and terrorized by searches. After an especially humiliating search on March 6, 1979, during which his entire scholarly archive (15 files) was confiscated, Melnyk could bear no more and killed himself. The suicide of one of the most active participants in the formation of the Ukrainian National Front, Ivan Mandryka, was simulated in Ivano-Frankivsk, where he had been detained by the procurator's office. Many group members received threats by telephone, in which the danger they faced was underscored by mentions of beatings and murders. Someone was trying to instill terror and a sense of helplessness in the hearts of group members.

Nonetheless, the group continued to function. Its activities were becoming ever more widely known. Letters were arriving from all parts of Ukraine and even from other areas of the Soviet Union. The number of letters grew. Group members were visited by individuals from near and far who came to tell them personally about violations of human rights and to ask their advice. In response to this, the authorities increased the number of arrests and stepped up judicial terror. Two more group members were arrested in April 1977: Mykola Matusevych and Myroslav Marynovych. Lev Lukyanenko was arrested at the end of the same year. There were even more arrests after the Belgrade Conference. Once they realized that the delegations of Western states were not about to spoil relations with the USSR on account of some dissidents, the Soviet authorities put the punitive apparatus in full gear. The arrests of the Helsinki monitors became especially widespread during the pre-Olympic and Olympic Games period and the Madrid Conference years (1979-80). While before this period (1977-78) only 7 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group had been arrested (M. Rudenko, O. Tykhy, M. Marynovych, M. Matusevych, L. Lukyanenko, P. Vins and Y. Zisels), in 1979-80 the number of arrests rose to 16: O. Berdnyk, V. Ovsiyenko P. Sichko, V. Sichko, Yu. Lytvyn, M. Horbal, V. Striltsiv, P. Rozumny, V. Kalynychenko, Ya. Lesiv, O. Heyko-Matusevych, Z. Krasivsky, V. Chornovil, I. Sokulsky, V. Stus, O. Meshko. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group was able to withstand a blow of this magnitude only thanks to the unbroken stream of new members joining the group. Nineteen new members joined the group during these years and a Helsinki group was formed in the prison camps, with a 9-member Ukrainian section.

## 3. The Arbitrary Rule of the Courts

It is widely known that there is no justice in the political trials conducted by Soviet courts. Anyone arrested by the KGB will automatically be convicted. And not because the KGB corroborates the charges with irrefutable facts. On the contrary, the cases conducted by the KGB contain no facts whatsoever. The Helsinki monitors were mainly tried on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda" and "disseminating fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet state and social system." During the five years of its existence, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has circulated hundreds of human rights documents, and not a single one of these contains a fact that has not been authenticated by the group. On the other hand, not a single fact has been checked even one-sidedly by the government, or a party commission or inspection. Despite this, the group documents examined in trials were classified as slanderous, even though by the very nature of many of them, the court was not competent to evaluate them.

But could the courts have acted differently? After all, these were not real courts. Only people approved by the KGB may participate in a political trial. This applies to the judges, the people's assessors, the attorneys. Moreover, only those who are willing to execute any KGB order, even those that directly contradict the law, are appointed judges and prosecutors. In the course of the trial, these dishonorable and unscrupulous individuals are not concerned with establishing the truth, but solely with preventing some false accusation from unravelling.

Even if the defense counsel happens by some accident to be a man of principle, he cannot singlehandedly change the pre-arranged course of the trial. Moreover, since he has to function under the KGB's Damoclean sword of ruthless punishment should he dare to present an uncompromised defense. Nor can the people's assessors do anything, especially as these roles are assigned to individuals who are politically ignorant, cowardly and servile to the authorities.

But, even given the composition of the trial participants, it is impossible to mask the crude fabrications to which they are forced to resort in order to hand down their unjust verdicts. They are forced to resort to gross violations of both international and Soviet laws. The poet Vasyl Stus, for example, was denied the right to deliver a final statement at his trial. The court ignored V. Stus's claim that he had been subjected to physical torture. The judge's only concern was to hand down the maximum sentence for a wholly unfounded and obviously false charge. The crude and obvious violations of law are the Achilles' heel of every political trial. By exposing these violations, the group pilloried the court on each occasion. And so the courts began to "hide" and "flee" from objective audiences. The court rooms are now packed in advance with audiences handpicked by the KGB. This allows them to tell the relatives and friends of the defendant that "there are no vacant seats in the room." Trials are now being held, contrary to the law, not in the places where the "crimes" were allegedly committed and not "where the majority of witnesses reside," but as far as possible from the place of residence of the defendants, in areas far from administrative and cultural centers, in villages and small towns, where no one knows the defendants. Consequently, all sorts of rumors can be spread about the defendant. In such places the militia knows everybody on sight and can swiftly uncover the presence of "strangers". At the same time, they can order their own residents to stay away from the place where the trial is held.

It is precisely for these reasons that M. Rudenko and O. Tykhy were not tried in Kiev, or even in Donetsk, but in the remote mining settlement of Druzhkivka. M. Marynovych and M. Matusevych were tried in the village of Vasylkiv. L. Lukyanenko, who lived under militia surveillance in Chernihiv, was taken to Hlukhiv to be tried, hundreds of kilometers from Chernihiv. Relatives are not told the time and place of the trial, although the law requires that this be done. It appears that in order to maintain the secrecy of what occurs at "open" political trials, the authorities have stopped fulfilling this legal requirement.

## 4. Defenders of Human Rights Charged with Criminal Offences

Still, no matter where the courts hid, no matter how they fled out of the public eye, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group managed to find ways to expose the unjust sentences meted out for legal activities in defense of human rights. Growing ever more furious, the authorities broadened the scope of terror and resorted to the vilest fabrications. Frequently, instead of false political charges, they used provocations, fabrications and false testimony to concoct criminal cases charging the defendants with crimes that degrade the honor and dignity of man: rape, hooliganism, resisting the authorities, parasitism, possession of weapons. Their reasoning was simple: since human rights activists do not violate the law, the charges would have to be fabricated anyway. However, the falsehood of a political charge is obvious, whereas it is more difficult to refute a criminal charge even if all the pieces do not fit. Some doubt always remains: "Perhaps he didn't rape her, but they were alone together. Even he doesn't deny that." As far as fabrication goes, it is much easier to fabricate criminal charges under Soviet conditions than political ones. Consider the following examples.

Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Oksana Meshko came to visit the teacher Vasyl Ovsiyenko, another group member, in the village of Lenino in Zhytomyr Oblast. Ovsiyenko was immediately summoned to the village soviet. Waiting for him there were the district militiaman and the chairman of the village soviet. They asked him who had come to visit him and for what purpose. Ovsiyenko replied that an acquaintance had come to visit him. Should she decide to stay a few days, he would report this in the time prescribed by law. So far, he added, there was nothing to talk about. The militiaman did not like Ovsiyenko's answer and grabbed him by the throat. Ovsiyenko screamed. The two women who had accompanied him to the village soviet ran into the room. One of them was

Oksana Meshko. The militiaman let Ovsiyenko go and ordered the women to leave. After they left, he wrote up a report that Vasyl Ovsiyenko had offered him resistance. On the basis of this report and the "evidence" of the village soviet chairman, the court sentenced Vasyl Ovsiyenko to 3 years of imprisonment in a strict regime camp. The court refused to hear the testimony of Oksana Meshko and the other woman and rejected their written depositions. Another group member, Yuriy Lytvyn, committed a similar "crime". The verdict was identical: 3 years in a strict regime camp.

Following is yet another example of a "criminal offence." A search was conducted at the home of group member Petro Rozumny, a school teacher. Unable to find materials that could be used to fabricate charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda" or "slander" they confiscated...a hunting knife. P. Rozumny was sentenced to 3 years in a general regime camp for the possession of this "weapon."

Equally "well-founded" were the charges of attempted rape preferred against the talented Ukrainian journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil and music teacher Mykola Horbal. They were tried in different parts of the Soviet Union. V. Chornovil stood trial in Yakutiya, M. Horbal in Kiev, but both were given the same sentence: 5 years of strict regime camps.

False charges of crimes that degrade human dignity and honor also served as the basis for the conviction of other group members: Vasyl Striltsiv, Yaroslav Lesiv, Petro Vins.

Thus 30% of the total number of convicted group members (8 out of 25) were convicted on fabricated charges of criminal offences. These were not legal errors.

In his letter from the prison camp to the 26th Congress of the CPSU, Vyacheslav Chornovil writes in connection with his last conviction: "I, like my colleagues in the Helsinki movement, am not a victim of judicial error. We are the victims of internal acts of terrorism. I have every basis to regard myself as a hostage of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, since my imprisonment is actually dictated not by some sort of fictitious verdicts, but by the domestic and international situation that has evolved to a large degree as a result of the policies of CPSU leaders."

The invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet troops and the continued aggressive course of Soviet foreign policy will inevitably lead to new purges of Soviet society and to more widespread and harsher repressions. The Helsinki movement and its accompanying national movement evoke particular fury among the authorities. A policy of open genocide is being applied to the members of this movement.

## 5. The Policy of Physically Exterminating the Opposition

This is not a new policy. Both prisoners of war and members of the insurgent movement in Ukraine who voluntarily laid down their arms and surrendered to the authorities were physically exterminated. Some were shot, others were convicted to inconceivably long terms of imprisonment and perished in concentration camps. Those who were fortunate enough to survive and complete their full terms are being convicted and imprisoned anew. For example, the rebel Danylo Shumuk, a man of brilliant intellect, a humanist and a lover of truth, a man whose sole weapon is the word, is now in his 35th year of imprisonment. During the entire period of his insurgent activity, he did not fire a single shot, not even his personal weapon (a pistol), not even in a practice target session. It will soon be 30 years since Yuriy Shukhevych, D. Shumuk's campmate, was imprisoned. He was never a member of the insurgent movement. His father commanded the Ukrainian Insurgent Army when Yuriy Shukhevych was a small boy. His father was killed, and the boy was imprisoned. He has been convicted three times, each time to a 10-year term, solely for refusing to denounce his father.

And here is a third example: Bohdan Chuyko, a 62-year old invalid, barely able to move about. No sooner did he complete his term of exile under his second conviction (he spent 16 years in the camps), when he was sentenced for the third time on the absurd charge of "stealing state property through fraud." He had been receiving a miserly pension granted him by the Irkutsk City Court, which had entered into his work record the 7 years that he had spent working on a railroad construction project while he was a camp inmate. The charge may be absurd, but there is little humor in it for B. Chuyko. For an invalid in his serious condition, 6 years in a strict regime camp is tantamount to a death sentence.

The same kind of policy of physical extermination is applied to the human rights activists. The conviction to 12 years of camps and exile of Mykola Rudenko, a 56-year old seriously disabled invalid of the Second World War, indicates an undisguised expectation that he will die in captivity. The same holds true for his gravely ill 50-year old friend, Oleksa Tykhy. Ten years in a special regime camp is also as good as a death sentence. Sending prisoners to special regime camps is the same as deliberately sentencing them to death. Incarceration in these camps meansliving on a starvation diet without fresh fruit or vegetables, without meat or milk. It means exhausting labor in unsanitary conditions. It means living in cells. And there is yet another terrible condition. Everything in these camps is designed to ensure that the prisoner does not see the sun for 10 years. The windows of each cell face north, and the sun never enters the windows of the work cells while the prisoners are inside. And it is to camps like this that 7 of the 25 arrested members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group have been sent. Moreover, it is the oldest and the most ill individuals that have been sent to such camps: O. Tykhy, L. Lukyanenko, V. Kalynychenko, I. Sokulsky, V. Stus, I. Kandyba and O. Berdnyk. Of these, only O. Berdnyk received a sentence of 6 years; all the rest were given the maximum term -- 10 years.

The same hope for her death in captivity is clearly evident in the sentence meted out to group member Oksana Meshko. Specialists from the KGB obviously feel that 5½ years in prison and exile is an adequate term for 75-year old woman, especially one who has already served a 10-year term in the camps of Stalin and Beria.

Younger people are sometimes given shorter terms, but they are immediately offered the alternative: agree to be "re-educated" or spend the rest of your life in prisons, camps and psychiatric hospitals. After his last conviction (to 5 years of strict regime camps) just before his previous 9-year sentence came to an end, Vyacheslav Chornovil was warned by the KGB that if he failed to "calm down", they would allow him to spend a few years among the dregs of society, and then, without releasing him, they would sentence him once again, this time on political charges of "slandering the Soviet state" or "propaganda" fabricated on the basis of "testimony" of these very same camp dregs.

The KGB has proved just as ruthless in other cases. Mustafa Dzhemilev is currently completing his 14th year in imprisonment; he is serving his 6th sentence. He has been arrested on a variety of charges: refusal to serve in the army, "slanderous fabrications", parasitism, "violating the passport regulations", and once again for "slanderous fabrications." All these accusations have one thing in common: they are all fabricated. In fact, M. Dzhemilev is being held in captivity for his part in the human rights movement and in the struggle of the Crimean Tatars for equal rights. But this is spoken of only in the offices of the oppressors of the people. The KGB representative who visited the camp where M. Dzhemilev was completing yet another term, "explained" to the camp authorities that "Mustafa is not someone that can be released. He can either be held in captivity, or removed to a cemetary." One of Mustafa Dzhemilev's fellow participants in the Crimean

Tatar national movement, Reshat Dzhemilev, is serving his second sentence. A second sentence (12 years of strict regime camps and exile) was also meted out to the human rights activist Henrykh Altunyan from Kharkiv, a former military academy lecturer and a military engineer.

In the conclusion of his open letter, V. Chornovil writes: "Having devoted some 20 years of my life to waging a legal struggle against the social and nationalities policies of the CPSU, and having suffered enormous hardships as a result, I now find myself in the position of a permanent prisoner, placed outside the law. Under these circumstances, I see no other alternative for myself, but to fight for release and permission to leave the USSR, where I have been deprived of even the minimum opportunities for literary work and political activity."

Unfortunately, V. Chornovil should know that there is practically no hope for emigration. I. Kandyba, I. Svitlychny, O. Serhiyenko, D. Shumuk and many other human rights activists who are being terrorized by the authorities also want to emigrate. But emigration from the USSR is closed to them. In fact, they have but one alternative: to die in imprisonment or to "repent", i.e. agree to live their lives crawling on all fours, ingratiating themselves with the authorities and executing the KGB's vilest orders.

Supplement 2 contains a copy of a statement by Lev Lukyanenko to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. This document is compelling in its simplicity and hopelessness. In it, L. Lukyanenko tells his story and also describes the fate of Ivan Kandyba, a co-defendant in his first trial and his co-worker in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. He exposes the absolute arbitrariness that dominates in regard to all members of the human rights movement and champions of the national sovereignty of Ukraine. The pattern that L. Lukyanenko describes is seldom changed. The writers B. Antonenko-Davydovych and N. Surovtseva are not in prison, not in a camp, and not in a psychiatric hospital. Since both are over 80 years old, the decision was made to finish them off in their own homes. The published works of both have been confiscated from libraries and are removed during searches from private book collections. Their literary archives have also been confiscated. They are under close surveillance and everything they write or say is immediately taken away. In this way, the KGB is hoping to kill not only these people as such, but even their memory.

But some situations are even worse. A number of human rights activists end up in psychiatric prisons.

## 6. The Criminal Abuse of Medicine, Especially Psychiatry, for Political Purposes

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group encountered the abuse of psychiatry by the authorities in its very first days of existence. KGB officials attempted to recruit the Kiev physician Mykhaylo Kovtunenko as their secret agent. He refused and, as a result, was threatened: "If you do not agree, things will get worse. We will find ways to make you cooperate." M. Kovtunenko submitted a written statement to the group that he was awaiting arrest on some fabricated charge. Sure enough, he was charged with bribery and arrested. But since there were no facts to corroborate the accusation, the court decided to send M. Kovtunenko for compulsory treatment to a special (prison type) psychiatric hospital.

Today, after some four years of investigation by the Working Commission for the Investigation of the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, after the arrival in the West of psychiatrist M. Voykhanskaya, the poet N. Gorbanevskaya, the worker V. Fainberg, the mathematician L. Plyushch, general P. Grigorenko, the worker V. Borisov and the consulting psychiatrist for the Working Commission A. Voloshanovich, few people doubt that the Soviet Union makes wide use of psychiatric terror against human rights activists. But at that time, even many human rights activists had a hard time believing such reports. Nevertheless, the group continued to corroborate its evidence. Perhaps because of this the first psychiatrist to denounce the arbitrary use of psychiatry was Semen Gluzman from Kiev, and the last consultant of the Working Commission was Kharkiv psychiatrist Anatoliy Koryagin.

Psychiatric terror has been exposed, but it has not ceased. Such prominent Ukrainian human rights activists as Anatoliy Lupynis and Yosyp Terelya are still in psychiatric hospitals after many years of confinement. A mining engineer from the Donbas, A. Nikitin, one of the organizers of a free trade union, though absolutely sane, has been judged mentally incompetent to stand trial and confined to the infamous Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital. Those who are less well known are in a worse situation. Especially in the provinces. They are isolated in psychiatric prisons by court orders or without, on the instructions of psychiatric dispensaries.

What happens to these unfortunates has been told by Viktor Borovsky who lived through this in a book published in Ukrainian in New York, entitled "The Kiss of Satan."

Psychiatry is not the only means used. The writer Heliy Snyehiryov was tortured and murdered with the assistance of physicians, who used their medical skills towards this end. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group publicized this fact by publishing H. Snyehiryov's diary, which he wrote in the torture chambers of the KGB bearing the names of hospitals and scientific institutes.

## 7. The Persecution of the Families of Human Rights Activists

The intensification of illegal terror against human rights activists has now reached their families. No, Stalin's law of December 1934 regarding the criminal accountability of family members of "enemies of the people" has so far not been officially restored. But the use of terror against the families of political prisoners has never ceased. They have been dismissed from work, expelled from institutions of higher learning, deprived of their residence permits and thereby forced to leave their homes of many years, drafted into the army, threatened with deportation and arrest. These were not empty threats. Group member M. Matusevych was convicted in the summer of 1978. Shortly thereafter, his wife, Olha Heyko, was arrested for daring to take her husband's place in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. The next blow was directed at the family of Stefaniya and Petro Sichko. Petro Sichko and his older son, Vasyl, joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. In retribution for this family "crime", the second son, Volodymyr Sichko, was expelled from Kiev University and drafted into the army. In protest, the indignant youth renounced his Soviet citizenship and refused to serve in the army. He was arrested and sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment in a camp. Only the two women in the family remained free -- an underage daughter and the mother, Stefaniya Sichko-Petrash. The mother courageously took on the struggle to abolish the unjust sentences passed on her husband and sons. She is being threatened with arrest.

This year it became the turn of Raissa Rudenko, the wife of the leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Mykola Rudenko. She is now in prison. Five months have passed since she was placed in the strictest isolation in the torture chambers of the KGB. This is the regime's revenge for her loyalty to her husband and his ideals. Since the very first day of his arrest, the authorities have been trying to make Mykola Rudenko "recant" in exchange for freedom. It is very important for the authorities to achieve this in order to break the moral backbone of the group he founded. But Mykola Rudenko remains steadfast in his defense of human dignity and the cause to which he has devoted the remainder of his life. His wife Raissa gave him moral support in his struggle against arbitrary rule and immorality. So this support was removed in the hope that this would help to break the poet's resistance. Now he can be offered two releases in exchange for only one...betrayal. And there is no one to give him moral support to resist this temptation. According to the latest reports, Raissa Rudenko was tried in the strictest secrecy (at the beginning of September). She was convicted on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda" to 5 years of strict regime camps and 5 years of exile. Her defense of her husband, telling the truth about him, was qualified as "anti-Soviet propaganda"!

The organs engaged in suppressing the people are growing ever more brazen. We can expect an increase in the number of arrests of family members. The events in Ukraine are not isolated actions taking place on "local initiative." The families of political prisoners in Moscow are suffering the same fate. For example, two members of political prisoner S. Kovalyov's family have been arrested and convicted: his son Ivan and Ivan's wife, Tatiana Osipova. The KGB is hoping to turn the clock back to the time, so dear to its heart, when not a single living soul knew anything about the fate of political prisoners and no one spoke out in their defense. A vast moral desert surrounded all.

### 8. The Results of the War

Let us sum up the results. The KGB has achieved a seeming victory. All known members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group are either in their graves, in prisons, camps, exile, psychiatric prisons or deported and in emigration (see Supplement 3). Only a few group members whose names were never published remain free. The KGB has isolated all those whom it suspects to be a potential reorganizor of the group. Each has been warned that if he openly announces his group membership, he will be immediately arrested and put on trial. Such is the KGB's "victory".

But the authorities have suffered a great moral defeat. Not a single member of the group, not a single supporter of the group, has admitted guilt or "repented". No one has agreed even to write an appeal for mercy (without "recanting").

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group, working under exceptionally difficult conditions, managed to do a great deal to expose the huge number of violations of human rights, the humanitarian articles of the Helsinki Final Act and the national rights of the Ukrainian nation.
The group's words of truth, even in the unnatural conditions of disseminating information that exist in Ukraine, reached large masses of people. As a result, the group began receiving more and more letters from various parts of Ukraine. The most courageous joined the group, became its permanent correspondents. And when the group faced its most difficult times, new members joined it. Here are some telling figures. On the day that it was formed, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group numbered 10 members. Today there are 34 members just in the camps, prisons, exile, psychiatric hospitals and forced emigration. In the five years of its existence, the group's membership more than tripled. There are also members who have not made their membership public. They did not break and did not form some sort of underground. As before, they are loyal to the basic principles of the Helsinki movement: no underground, no terror. We defend the truth and the truth requires light. For this reason, we uphold legality, factual accuracy, publicity in the defense of human rights, in the struggle for freedom and for the right of the Ukrainian nation to independence.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group has become a factor in the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, in their struggle for the right of men to live freely in their own land.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group has also become a factor in international life. During the last five years, the Helsinki movement has spread across Europe, the United States and Canada. The International Helsinki Association was founded. The activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group contributed to this. This group finds itself today in a difficult situation, but it has not been defeated as its enemies claim. He is defeated who has lost faith in the possibility of further struggle. And we have not lost this faith. All the members of the group, including those who have not yet announced their membership, those whom the public does not yet know, and those who are in prison, in exile, in emigration, unanimously maintain: "The group's existence is tantamount to our life, our right to think, create, express our views." (See the Group Memorandum, Fall 1979).

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group has not been defeated. It has retreated in order to analyze its experience and to find new forms of legal struggle for the same ideals that are more appropriate to the current situation.

In this struggle we count on international assistance. Naturally, we do not think that the world public should act for us, responding to every illegal act committed by the Soviet authorities. On the contrary, we are certain that the development of legal consciousness among our own people is our own responsibility. It is precisely for this reason that "...we are filled with determination to bring our unequal struggle to the end, in the sincere belief that the people's will will sooner or later establish the triumph of law in all spheres of thought, creativity and activity." (Memorandum No. 7, March 15, 1977).

But we also realize that it is impossible to defend the Helsinki ideals while acting in isolation. International efforts are essential. First of all, it is necessary for the countries that signed the Helsinki Accords to adopt a "Declaration on the Public's Right to Monitor the Compliance with the Helsinki Final Act and the Inadmissibility of Criminal and Administrative Reprisals for Participation in such Monitoring."

The adoption of such a declaration, even if the USSR and the countries dependent on it refuse to sign it, will serve as a strong propaganda weapon in the hands of human rights advocates and free states. It will create a favorable moral climate for the growth of a mighty Helsinki movement.

The victory of good over evil, truth over lies, never comes easily. But we believe that truth and righteousness will overcome. The members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group Oleksa Tykhy and Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk write about the future of Ukraine as they imagine it in a letter from their terrible special regime camp:

"Ukraine must be an independent, democratic, spiritually rich, materially secure state, with a high level of development of education, science and culture that are national in content, form and essence.

"Every person, group of persons, enterprise, village and territorial unit must be assured the opportunity to exercise freely and without impediment their civil, social and political rights to their own advantage and without harm to anyone else.

"Ukraine must live in peace and friendship with all the countries of this planet, exchange with all the peoples of the world its achievements in the spheres of material welfare, science and culture.

"Ukraine must be able to welcome sincerely and hospitably all citizens of all countries of the world, and her citizens must be free to visit the countries of all continents.

"Citizens must be educated in the family, school, church and society, and not in the street, concentration camp and prison."

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group is fighting for precisely this kind of Ukraine. Its methods are those of legal opposition. For this reason, the harsh, illegal and seemingly unfounded blows which the Soviet Helsinki groups are subjected to can be explained only by one fact. The USSR is preparing for a major aggressive war. Only potentially aggressive governments ruthlessly suppress opposition in their countries, disregarding all laws. For this reason, today's Western pacifists are profoundly wrong to demand unilateral disarmament of the West. By doing so they merely encourage the aggressor, bring the war closer to their own doorstep. The war can be avoided only if all the states who took part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe strictly adhere to the principles proclaimed there and unconditionally implement all the Helsinki Accords.

The Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, on the recommendation of several of the group's imprisoned founding members, proposes to conduct a lengthy international campaign under the slogan "Peace through the unconditional implementation of the Helsinki Accords." Within the framework of this campaign, as its first stage, we must demand the release of all imprisoned members of the Helsinki movement and the proclamation of the declaration of the public's right to monitor compliance with the Helsinki Final Act.

We appeal:

-- to the European Parliament, the governments and parliaments of states that signed the Helsinki Final Act, and first and foremost, to the government of the United States,

-- to the International Helsinki Association and to human rights defense organizations of the abovementioned countries, and especially to the United States Helsinki Watch Group, to the German "Menschenrechte", and to the Norwegian Helsinki Committee,

-- to trade unions, youth and women's organizations and political parties that firmly uphold freedom, democracy and the defense of human rights,

-- to all the honest people of Europe, Canada and the United States:

Support our proposal with action!

Demand that preparations for aggression cease!

Save the world before it is too late!

Mr. **Fascell**. Thank you very much. It is indeed a sad and tragic tale, but it is also a tribute to courage and determination.

I would like to ask the general, what is his assessment of the future of dissent in the Soviet Union?

General **Grigorenko** [through interpreter]. When we created the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, we thought we might exist for only 5 days, but we existed for 5 years. When we came into existence, nobody in Ukraine knew about us. Today, there are very few who do not know about us.

When I was still in the Soviet Union, we would often receive letters from all parts of Ukraine. A look at the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, shows its membership was constantly changing, because people were put in prison, psychiatric asylums, and camps. Then new people joined from different regions of Ukraine. In fact, no village in Ukraine lacked representation among the members of the group. The administration, or Government, only has the power to further choke. In order to achieve a moral victory, however, the Government can do nothing. For this, the Government needed a recantation. Yet, although these prisoners were offered freedom in exchange, over 5 years not one Ukrainian Helsinki Group member has accepted these offers.

Andropov's KGB assistant General Tsvigun has just written an article in Kommunist in which he brags that the KGB eliminated the dissident movement. Yet, 6 months ago, he also claimed that no dissidents existed, but only individual renegades. Now it is that nonexistent dissident movement they have again succeeded in quashing.

I think it is impossible to crush the awakening of the people. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group, for example, began with 10 members, now there are 34. There are some others who are still free, but unfortunately we cannot be named now. The KGB has warned that anybody who announces group membership will be arrested immediately. I do not think this situation will long continue. Among the people, among the nations, there is growing anger which will rise to the surface.

Mr. **Fascell**. Mrs. Fenwick.

Mrs. **Fenwick**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I wonder if you could ask the General if the trials of those who are taken are mentioned in the press and if the people being tried are identified as members of the Helsinki Monitoring Group?

General **Grigorenko** [through interpreter]. In the Soviet Union?

Mrs. **Fenwick**. Yes.

General **Grigorenko** [through interpreter]. No, the Soviet press would never state that these people are members of Helsinki groups. They always call them criminals.

Mrs. **Fenwick**. Criminals, yes, hooligans.

General **Grigorenko** [through interpreter]. The Soviets even make special accusations of a nonpolitical nature.

Mrs. **Fenwick**. I see.

General **Grigorenko** [through interpreter]. Criminal charges.

Mrs. **Fenwick**. I thought that would probably be the case but I wondered how then do the people in Ukraine know about the Helsinki Monitoring Group, how do they get that news around?

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. The information goes in this fashion, behind the head and through this ear. In other words, it goes first abroad and then it is broadcast back into the Soviet Union by radio.

Mrs. FENWICK. And so the radio that we have is useful in that way.

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. The Western radio broadcasts are very carefully listened to.

Mrs. FENWICK. And very useful, yes.

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. In 1974, I was in my native village in Ukraine, and they knew better than I did the various Western radio broadcasts and had graded them according to which ones were better.

Mrs. FENWICK. Which ones were better. Give us a little information about that; which ones were better?

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. Maxim Maximovich Goldberg from BBC World Broadcast Service got a very good grade for his political commentary.

Mrs. FENWICK. I see. One more question, if I may, Mr. Chairman. Did your group get in touch with other groups, monitoring groups, in the Soviet Union?

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. Yes, we had contact at all times. Of course, the best contact was with the Moscow Group. The General was the representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in the Moscow Group. The connections were in all directions. We also had contacts with the Lithuanian and the Georgian groups.

Mrs. FENWICK. I have particular memory for Mr. Tykhy and Mr. Rudenko. Have you news of them?

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. Rudenko has just been transferred to a labor camp in Perm because his wife, Raisa, was just sent to the camp where he had been previously. They didn't want them to be in the same camp even though they would be isolated from one another. This is the most heinous KGB operation in the case of Raisa Rudenko.

They wish to silence and frighten the families of imprisoned individuals.

Mrs. FENWICK. And Mr. Tykhy?

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. Tykhy is in the same camp to which Raisa Rudenko was just sent. He is very ill.

Mrs. FENWICK. Is he ill?

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. Yes, extremely ill.

Mrs. FENWICK. We must write some more.

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. It is absolutely necessary.

Mrs. FENWICK. Could you give us the name of the camp just so we can know? It is always good to give the name of the camp.

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. We will get that information for you.

Mrs. FENWICK. And his first name?

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. I would like to say something more about Western radio broadcasts. The fact that the Ukrainian villages give highest grade for political commentaries is evidence of our constant claim—that the broadcasts are not on the highest level. There are many frivolous broadcasts and very few political ones.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Ritter?

Mr. RITTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General Grigorenko, you have opened a subject of some interest to me and that is the communications. Obviously, it is so important since the dissident movement, be it in Ukraine or elsewhere, is gaining its information through these communications. You have just made the comment that so often these communications are frivolous. We are having a controversy here in this country at the present time as to the merit and the value of our various national broadcasting systems. That is not the corporate National Broadcasting System, but America's broadcasting system.

Could you describe a little bit more what you mean by frivolous and could you put the Voice of America in context with grading? And I would hope that you could be as frank as possible because we are trying to get the best possible system.

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. The Voice of America, I will say honestly, is not very sharp. In organizing the radio broadcasts, they approached them from an American—not a Soviet—point of view: sensationalism. In the U.S.S.R. people like to hear broadcasts about themselves. You can repeat this information a hundred times over, but they only want information about the current Soviet situation—about Tykhy, Rudenko, about people who are involved. Often American correspondents don't even mention such individuals. But the listeners from Ukraine likes to hear about his own people.

Mr. RITTER. General Grigorenko, recently in an interview, Alexander Solzhenitsyn said many of the same things that you are saying here today. He said that "we ask for bread and they give us stones." He said that issues such as the status of working class people and the lives of working class people in the Soviet Union was very important for the general population to have some insights into and they couldn't get those insights in their own media, obviously.

Solzhenitsyn said, the same is true, with the peasantry who live on the collective farms or work in agriculture. Their status is not communicated to the rest of the country. And he also made mention that there was a lack of communication on the general life in the military and that these conditions were not known outside of those directly involved.

Do you concur that information in those areas defined toward Ukraine or toward the Baltics, to other areas of the Soviet Union, would constitute more bread as opposed to stones?

General GRIGORENKO [through interpreter]. Solzhenitsyn is a brave writer who also came from the U.S.S.R. He knows life in the Soviet Union and the themes that he raises are alive. As often as possible, there should be broadcast about the dissident movement and about Soviet life.

To illustrate, I will give you a typical incident. When I was still in the Soviet Union, I was visited by a worker from Donbas. He knew my address, and he wanted to come and tell me how the militia had come, like bandits, and taken away his car. I asked him, "Well, how can I help you?" He said, "I would just as soon spit on that car. I would like to hear these curs cursed on Voice of America or BBC."

I would say that the Soviet Union, totally unrestrained, inundates America with total lies. So the United States has the right, even the obligation, to tell the truth about the Soviet Union.

Mr. Ritter. Are you saying that our broadcasts, which are basically Voice of America, are not doing the job that they should be doing as far as the various peoples of the Soviet Union are concerned?

General Grigorenko [through interpreter]. No, I'm not saying that. The Voice of America, however, does try to soften the truth somewhat. And that is not necessary.

Mr. Ritter. We have heard recently that the Voice of America staff have prepared programs for transmission to the Soviet Union prepared by readers of Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag," and these were taken off the agenda. Are you familiar with that controversy?

General Grigorenko [through interpreter]. I don't know this incident, but if so, it shouldn't have happened. Such as today's hearings, if the Voice of America should, for example, broadcast them, even a condensed version, or details——

Mr. Ritter. Is there anybody here from the Voice of America? I would assume that there is a good contingent. Good. Well, you heard the word.

General Grigorenko [through interpreter]. The broadcast of this hearing would elicit very strong interest in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Fascell. This hearing will be broadcast by many people, but I think one thing we have to make clear for the record is that this debate has been going on in the United States for a long time. Basically, the VOA is supposed to portray life in the United States and the official positions of the U.S. Government to people abroard. If it is news, I suppose that they can and do broadcast about events in the Soviet Union. Such broadcasts, however, are their primary job.

The primary job of Radio Liberty, however, is to try to inform the Soviet people on what is going on in the Soviet Union—an entirely different proposition. We have been rather careful in the United States—maybe too much so, but I doubt it—not to mix oil and water. But as of today, the primary responsibility for telling the Soviets about the Soviet Union remains the job of Radio Liberty. That is why Radio Liberty broadcasts are so heavily jammed.

So, Voice of America operates in an entirely different framework.

General Grigorenko, thank you very much. It is a pleasure to welcome you here today, and to realize that, although the struggle for human dignity is desperate and dangerous, the spirit of freedom lives on.

General Grigorenko [through interpreter]. Thank you.

[Material submitted for the record by General Grigorenko is as follows:]

SUPPLEMENT 1

LIST OF PERSONS ARRESTED IN UKRAINE IN 1972

ANTONYUK, Zynoviy -- engineer-economist
CHORNOVIL, Vyacheslav -- journalist
DYAK, Volodymyr
DZYUBA, Ivan -- literary critic, publicist
GLUZMAN, Semen -- psychiatrist
HEL, Ivan -- historian
HUK, Lidiya -- physician-hygienist
KALYNETS, Ihor -- poet
KALYNETS-STASIV, Iryna -- poet
KHOLODNY, Mykola -- poet
KOVALENKO, Ivan -- historian, teacher
KUZYUKIN, Volodymyr -- officer
LISOVY, Vasyl -- philosopher
LOBKO, Vasyl -- philologist
LUPYNIS, Anatoliy
MARCHENKO, Valeriy -- philologist, translator
MYKYTKA, Yaromyr -- student
OSADCHY, Mykhaylo -- poet, candidate of philological sciences
OVSIYENKO, Vasyl -- teacher
PLAKHOTNYUK, Mykola -- physician-phtnisiologist
PLYUSHCH, Leonid -- mathematician
POPADYUK, Zoryan -- student
PRONYUK, Yevhen -- philosopher
PRYTYKA
RAKETSKY, Volodymyr
ROMANYUK, Vasyl -- priest
ROZLUTSKY, B.
RUBAN, Vasyl -- poet
RYEZNIKOV, Oleksa -- poet
SELEZNENKO, Leonid -- chemist
SENYK, Iryna -- nurse, poet
SERHIYENKO, Oleksander -- museum employee
SEREDNYAK, Lyubov
SHABATURA, Stefaniya -- artist
SHUMUK, Danylo -- permanent prisoner
SHUKHEVYCH-BEREZINSKY, Yuriy -- permanent prisoner
STROKATOVA Nina -- physician-microbiologist
STUS, Vasyl -- poet, philologist
SVERSTYUK, Yevhen -- psychologist, literary critic
SVITLYCHNA, Nadia -- philologist
SVITLYCHNY, Ivan -- literary critic, poet, translator
TSYTSYK, R.
ZAKHARCHENKO, Vasyl -- writer

SUPPLEMENT 2

## STATEMENT

## TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR

From Lev Hryhorovych Lukyanenko
Chernihiv, vul. Rokossovskoho, 41B, kv. 41

In 1961, I was sentenced to death because along with my friends I had attempted to pose the question of the peaceful secession of Ukraine from the USSR. The Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR commuted my death sentence to 15 years of imprisonment in a strict regime forced labor concentration camp.

The separation of Soviet republics from the USSR does not contradict Marxist theory on the nationalities question; the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR cannot be regarded as an anti-Soviet act, since the right to secede is proclaimed in Article 17 of the Constitution of the USSR; any activity by an individual (or a group of individuals) aimed at implementing a constitutional right cannot be considered a crime. All these are elementary truths of Marxist theory and of Soviet law. In spite of this, I was convicted and tormented for 15 years in imprisonment.

For fifteen years, the organs of repression tried to prove to me that the constitutional right to secede does not in fact mean the right to secede, and that, therefore, my aspirations constituted an attack on the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union. Because I could not accept this interpretation of the law, I was subjected to endless humiliations and torture, including being sent to the Rybinsk psychiatric hospital for the purpose of having my mental state examined.

## Supplement 2

Through the grace of God, I emerged from behind bars with my soul intact, but there is no freedom in the outside world either.

My jailers handed me over to the militia to be placed under open surveillance. Under the conditions of this surveillance, I may not leave the city without the militia's permission; I may not leave my apartment from evening until morning; I may not visit the city's hotels, cafes, bars or restaurants; I am required to report at the militia headquarters every Friday between the hours of 5 and 6 p.m. Militiamen and members of the People's Voluntary Detachments visit my apartment. They check up on me at work. This is all part of the official surveillance. But what about the unofficial surveillance, thanks to which the authorities know my every move? Where does that end? I am deprived of all privacy in my personal life.

The KGB reads my letters and then uses them to terrorize members of my family and to turn them against me. For example, Sr. Lieut. Derenchuk of the KGB showed a letter I had written to Oskana Meshko protesting the confinement of V. Moroz to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry to my sister-in-law Valentyna in the course of investigating who had signed the protest in question and so frightened her that she fell ill.

The "privacy" of telephone conversations has reached the point where the militia answered a call from Ivan Kandyba to my number and told him derisively that my number (3-39-13) is that of the militia!

Supplement 2

The whole point of this surveillance is to use various means of harrassment to drive a person to the very verge of being prosecuted for violating the regulations of administrative surveillance. It is meant to force one to keep checking the clock in order not to arrive late at militia headquarters to report or when returning home. It is designed to make one scrutinize everyone one meets in the vain hope of ascertaining whether or not that person is an informer. By holding a person in this perpetual state of nervous tension, the authorities hope to prevent him from becoming involved in public activities, isolate him and gradually bring him to his knees.

I am no longer young and occasionally I may forget about a Friday or may not get home on time at 9:30 p.m. This will serve as sufficient grounds to prolong the surveillance. In any case, even without formal reasons, the militia (if the KGB deems it necessary) will always find a way to justify the continuation of the surveillance.

When will all this end?

Never. A statute on administrative surveillance issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on July 26, 1966 allows the militia to re-impose surveillance for repeated periods of six months up until the date of expiration of a released prisoner's "record of conviction" (sudymist).

According to para. 8, Art. 55 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, my record of conviction will never expire automatically. A court decision is necessary to lift it. Such a court decision is possible only in the event that I renounce my views. Since I will never renounce my views, my record of conviction will remain in force until the day I die. Therefore, there will always be legal grounds for re-imposing surveillance, and I may never be rid of this wearisome custody. The prospect of such a life does not attract me in the least.

There are no laws in the Soviet Union barring one from working in one's chosen field, but I (as well as most Ukrainian dissidents) have been denied the opportunity to work in my chosen profession and forced to earn a living in the most primitive surroundings.

Of my 50 years, I have spent over eight years in your army barracks, fifteen years in concentration camp barracks and prison cells, and now I am spending my second year living under house arrest.

I love Ukraine more than my own life. When I earned my first 18-day leave after release from imprisonment, I wanted to visit Kaniv and bow before the statue of Taras Shevchenko and to visit the museums of Kiev. But this request was denied me in order that I might not meet there with other dissidents. Then I asked for permission to go to Trostyanets and Kachanivka to admire the famous parks there and to expand my knowledge of my native land. Again I was refused,though I don't know a single dissident in those places and there was no possibility of any meetings of that nature.

When I arrived in Druzhkivka one evening for a court appearance and wished to attend the trial of my close friends the following day and speak with their families, in the morning,

Supplement 2

two militiamen "invited" me to the local militia station and detained me there until 11 a.m. and then drove me to Kramatorsk and put me on a train.

Thus, I am not allowed to see either my friends or the countryside of my native land. And this is called living? And this is going to last until my death?

No, judging by the latest events, the KGB is preparing a different future for me.

Two officers of the Chernihiv KGB spent from 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. forcing the presbyter of the Chernihiv Baptist community (whose church I once visited) to sign a document which ascribed statements to me that I had never made there.

Of course, if the KGB decides to fabricate and ascribe various anti-Soviet statements to me, it will succeed; if it wants to put me behind bars once again, it will do so. It has the ability to do anything, except one thing. It cannot convince me that I am in error, because I am on the side of truth, just as Taras Shevchenko was, just as Ivan Franko was, just as Valentyn Moroz was.

The prospect of spending the rest of my life working as an electrician and seeing my country from the confines of one city, Chernihiv, and, even more so, the prospect of renewed incarceration strengthen me in my belief that I want much more from my life and therefore I

REQUEST

that I be allowed to leave the Soviet Union and live outside its borders.

August 24, 1977 L. Lukyanenko

SUPPLEMENT 3

## A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ARRESTS OF MEMBERS OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

1. TYKHY, Oleksiy Ivanovych -- teacher, born January 31, 1927. Founding member of the UHG. Arrested February 4, 1977 in the village of Yizhevka, Donetsk Oblast. Article 62, sec. 2 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 10 years of special regime camps + 5 years of exile. Address in camp: 618263, Permskaya obl., Chusovskoy r-n, pos. Kuchino, uchr. VS-389/36-1.

2. RUDENKO, Mykola Danylovych -- writer, born December 19, 1920. Leader and founder of the UHG. Arrested February 5, 1977 in Kiev. Article 62, sec. 1 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 7 years of strict regime camps + 5 years of exile. Address in camp: 431200, Mordovskaya ASSR, Tengushevskiy r-n, pos. Bareshevo, uchr. ZhKh-385/3-5. Transferred to Permskaya obl. in mid-1981.

3. MARYNOVYCH, Myroslav Frankovych -- engineer, born January 4, 1949. Founding member of UHG. Arrested April 23, 1977 in Kiev. Article 62, sec. 1 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 7 years of strict regime camps + 5 years of exile. Address in camp: 618263, Permskaya obl., Chusovskoy r-n, pos. Kuchino, uchr. VS-389/36-2. Since 1981 in prison: 422950, Tatarskaya ASSR, g. Chistopol, uchr. UE-148/st-4.

Supplement 3

4. MATUSEVYCH, Mykola Ivanovych -- incomplete higher education (due to expulsion) in history, born July 19, 1947. Founding member of the UHG. Arrested April 23, 1977. Articles 62, sec. 1, 206, sec. 2 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 7 years of strict regime camps + 5 years of exile. Address in camp: 618810, Permskaya obl., Chusovskoy r-n, st. Vseknsvyatskaya, uchr. VS-389/35. On October 5, 1980 transferred to prison: 422950, Tatarskaya ASSR, g. Chistopol, uchr. UE-148/st-4.

5. LUKYANENKO, Lev Hryhorovych -- lawyer, born August 24, 1928. Founding member of the UHG. Arrested December 12, 1977 in Chernihiv. Article 62, sec. 2 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 10 years of special regime camps + 5 years of exile. Address in camp: 618263, Permskaya obl., Chusovskoy r-n, pos. Kuchino, uchr. VS-389/36-1.

6. VINS, Petro Heorhiyovych -- born May 1, 1956. Joined the UHG in April 1977. Arrested February 15, 1978 in Kiev. Article 214 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 1 year of general regime camp. Address in camp: Rivenska obl., later -- Sumska obl. Living in emigration in the United States since June 1979.

7. ZISELS, Yosyf Samuyilovych -- television studio engineer, born December 2, 1946. Joined the UHG in 1977. Arrested December 8, 1978 in Chernivtsi. Article 187-1 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 3 years of general regime camps. Address in camp: 275000, m. Sokyryany, Chernivetska obl., ust. RCh-328/67.

Supplement 3

8. OVSIYENKO, Vasyl Vasylyovych -- teacher of Ukrainian language, born 1949. Joined the UHG in March 1977. Arrested February 8, 1979 in the village of Lenino, Radomyshlskyi r-n, Zhytomyr obl. Article 188-1, sec. 2 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 3 years of strict regime camps. Address in camp: 332006, Zaporizka obl., m. Volnyansk, ust. YaYa-310/55-3-20.

9. BERDNYK, Oleksander Pavlovych -- science fiction writer, born November 25, 1927. Founding member of the UHG. Arrested March 6, 1979 in Kiev. Article 62, sec. 1 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 6 years of special regime camps + 3 years of exile. Address in camp: 618263, Permskaya obl., Chusovskoy r-n, pos. Kuchino, uchr. VS-389/36.

10. MELNYK, Mykhaylo Spyrydonovych -- historian, born March 14, 1944. Began working in the UHG in 1978. During a search on March 6, 1979, the KGB confiscated 15 files of various materials (articles, copied passages, poems etc.). As a result, on March 9, 1979 he committed suicide in the village of Pohreby near Kiev.

11. SICHKO, Vasyl Petrovych -- student, born December 22, 1956. Joined the UHG in April 1977. Arrested July 5, 1979 in the village of Dolyna, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast. Article 187-1 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 3 years of reinforced regime camps. Address in camp: 257000, m. Cherkasy, ust. ECh-325/62-52.

Supplement 3

12. SICHKO, Petro Vasylyovych -- economist, born August 18, 1926. Joined the UHG in April 1977. Arrested July 5, 1979 in the village of Dolyna, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast. Article 187-1 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 3 years of strict regime camps. Address in camp: Voroshylovhradska obl., m. Bryanka, ust. UL-314/11-3.

13. LYTVYN, Yuriy Tymonovych -- worker, born in 1934. Joined the UHG in December 1977. Arrested August 6, 1979. Article 188-1 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 3 years of strict regime camps. Address in camp: Kiev obl., m. Bucha, ust. YuA-45/85.

14. HORBAL, Mykola Andriyovych -- composer and poet, born May 6, 1941. Joined the UHG in 1978. Arrested October 23, 1979 in Kiev. Articles 117, 188 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 5 years of strict regime camps. Address in camp: 292222, Mykolayivska obl., s. Olshanske, ust. IN-316/53-8-81.

15. STRILTSIV, Vasyl Stepanovych -- teacher of English, born January 13, 1929. Joined the UHG in April 1977. Arrested October 25, 1979 in the village of Dolyna, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast. Article 196 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 2 years of strict regime camps. Address in camp: 315040, Poltavska obl., p/v Bozhkove, ust. OP-317/16-21.

Supplement 3

16. ROZUMNY, Petro Pavlovych -- teacher of English, born March 7, 1926. Joined the UHG in October 1979. Arrested October 19, 1979 in Dnipropetrovsk. Article 222 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 3 years of general regime camps. Address in camp: m. Nikopol, Dnipropetrovska obl. Released early.

17. KALYNYCHENKO, Vitaliy Vasylyovych -- engineer, born in 1939. Joined the UHG in November 1977. Arrested November 29, 1979 in the village of Vasylkivka, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. Article 62, sec. 2 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 10 years of special regime camps + 5 years of exile. Address in camp: 618263, Permskaya obl., Chusovskoy r-n, pos. Kuchino, uchr. VS-389/36-1.

18. LESIV, Yaroslav Vasylyovych -- physical education teacher, born in 1945. Joined the UHG in September 1979. Arrested November 15, 1979 in the village of Bolekhiv, Ivano-Frankivsk Obl. Article 229 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 2 years of general regime camps. Address in camp: 205452, Rivenska obl., Sarnynskyi r-n, ust. OR-318/46-15.

19. HEYKO-MATUSEVYCH, Olha Dmytrivna -- Czech philology, born September 9, 1953. Joined the UHG in April 1977. Arrested March 12, 1980 in Kiev. Article 187-1 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 3 years of general regime camps. Address in camp: 270059, m. Odessa-59, ust. YuH-311/74-3-6.

Supplement 3

20. KRASIVSKY, Zynoviy Mykhaylovych -- philologist, poet, born November 12, 1929. Joined the UHG in October 1979. Arrested March 12, 1980 in Morshyn, Lviv Oblast. Articles 56, 62, 64 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 8 months of strict regime camps + 5 years of exile (completing a previous sentence). Address in camp: Perm-36, since November 1980 in exile: 626236, Tyumenskaya obl., Khanty-Mansinskiy r-n, pos. Lugovoy, obshchezhitiye.

21. CHORNOVIL, Vyacheslav Maksymovych -- journalist, born December 24, 1937. Joined the UHG in October 1979. Arrested June 8, 1980 while in exile in Yakutiya. Article 117 (15) of the CC RSFSR. Sentence: 5 years of strict regime camps. Address in camp: Yakutskaya ASSR, pos. Tabaga, uchr. YaD-40/7.

22. SOKULSKY, Ivan Hryhorovych -- journalist, poet, born in 1940. Joined the UHG in October 1979. Arrested April 11, 1980 in Dnipropetrovsk. Article 62, sec. 2 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 10 years of special regime camps + 5 years of exile. Address in camp: 618263, Permskaya obl., Chusovskoy r-n, pos. Kuchino, uchr. VS-389/36-1.

23. STUS, Vasyl Semenovych -- poet, born January 8, 1938. Joined the UHG in October 1979. Arrested May 13, 1980. Article 62, sec. 2 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 10 years of special regime camps + 5 years of exile. Address in camp: 618263, Permskaya obl., Chusovskoy r-n, pos. Kuchino, uchr. VS-389/36-1.

Supplement 3

24. MESHKO, Oksana Yakivna -- incomplete degree in biology, born January 30, 1905. Founding member and after the arrest of others the leader of the UHG. Arrested October 14, 1980. Article 62, sec. 1 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 6 months of strict regime + 5 years of exile. Address in exile: 682080, Khabarovskiy krai, Ayano-Maevskiy r-n, s. Ayan, ul. Vostrevtsov, 18.

25. KANDYBA, Ivan Oleksiyovych -- lawyer, born July 7, 1930. Founding member of the UHG. Arrested March 24, 1981 in the village of Pustomyty, Lviv Oblast. Article 62, sec. 2 of the CC UkSSR. Sentence: 10 years of special regime camps + 5 years of exile. Address in camp: 618263, Permskaya obl., Chusovskoy r-n, pos. Kuchino, uchr. VS-389/36-1.

SUPPLEMENT 4

# DECLARATION

## ON THE PUBLIC'S RIGHT TO MONITOR THE COMPLIANCE WITH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE INADMISSIBILITY OF CRIMINAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REPRISALS FOR PARTICIPATION IN SUCH MONITORING

Proceeding from the fact that the entire population of the earth, and especially small peoples and nations, have a stake in peace and security;

Taking into account that the Helsinki Final Act, which was signed by the governments of all European countries, Canada, and the United States with exactly that purpose in mind, can reliably serve that purpose only if there is a complete and unequivocal compliance with all of its claims;

Bearing in mind that, on the one hand, the said Act does not contain any secret clauses or secret appendices, which creates favorable conditions for it to be monitored by persons outside the state apparatus, and, on the other hand, that it charges the participants with so many responsibilities that it is simply impossible to monitor its implementation without broad public participation;

Noting that the forms of such public participation have already been discovered through grass-roots initiative and the creation of the so-called Helsinki Watch Groups;

Taking into consideration that government authorities in most countries do not facilitate the development of that initiative, while impeding its development in some countries through the use of harsh criminal and administrative reprisals against the participants in Helsinki Watch Groups and members of their families;

The Madrid Conference of countries that have signed the Helsinki Final Act considers it necessary to declare the following:

1. All citizens of the countries which participated in the Helsinki Conference on European security and cooperation, regardless of their race, sex, ethnic origin, and religious or party affiliation, have the right and are urged to (through their personal initiative, on a non-partisan basis and without special permission from the state apparatus) monitor the compliance of the Final Act and bring the findings of such monitoring to the attention of their own government, as well as that of any other participating country, all or individual Helsinki Watch Groups, both inside and outside the country, and also, at their discretion, to publicize the documents of Helsinki Groups widely, through any means, and regardless of national frontiers.

2. The governments of the countries participating in the Helsinki Conference on European security and cooperation, or any agencies of those governments, do not have the right to subject citizens of their countries to criminal or administrative persecution for their personal participation in the monitoring of the Final Act or for being members of the monitors' families. In accordance with this, all governments of the countries participating in the Helsinki Conference on European security and cooperation have an immediate obligation to release from imprisonment and return from internal exile and forced emigration

all members of Helsinki Watch Groups and associated committees, commissions, editorial boards and writers' groups, as well as individual writers; to investigate all violations of the Final Act uncovered by Helsinki Groups and eliminate those violations; to declare a universal political amnesty.

3. In the future, the governments of the participating countries will be responsible to investigate all violations of the Act uncovered by Helsinki Groups immediately and take immediate steps for their elimination.

The participating states will establish, on the basis of parity, an intergovernmental monitoring body to be charged with the responsibility for investigating those violations of the Act which are uncovered by the public monitoring groups, but are not eliminated by the violator state.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you. Now, our next witness.

Mr. RITTER. It gives me great pleasure to introduce our second witness, Myroslaw Smorodsky, Esq. Myroslaw Smorodsky is a Ukrainian-American human rights activist and practicing attorney from Rutherford, N.J. He was a public member of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and will give us his update.

Mr. FASCELL. Let me add my welcome also. I'm delighted to see you again. I enjoyed working with you in Madrid.

## STATEMENT OF MYROSLAW SMORODSKY, ESQ.

Mr. SMORODSKY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Commissioners. It is indeed an honor for me to be here today. As a public member of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid Conference, I had the opportunity, over a 6-week period, to work closely with many members of the Commission and its staff. I'd like to take this opportunity to thank the Commission and its staff for their cooperation, assistance, and on many occasions guidance during my tenure in Madrid. I would also like to commend you for your high degree of competence and insight, and for your sensitivity to the many intricate issues of the Helsinki process. I say this not only on behalf of myself, but, I am sure, on behalf of all the public members, as well as many nongovernmental organizations who attended the first phase of the Madrid Conference.

The purpose of these hearings is to commemorate, in a constructive manner, the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group. I do not intend to discuss in extensive detail the activities of the Ukrainian Group or its persecution by Moscow. These facts have been very carefully documented by the Commission over the years. What I would like to do is to examine some of the foreign policy implications for the United States of the repressive policies of the Soviet Government toward the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the issues it represents.

As you know, and as you stated in your opening remarks, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was founded on November 9, 1976 in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, by 10 individuals who undertook to examine the Soviet Union's compliance with the principles enunciated in the Helsinki accords. Within 1 year of the creation of the group, five of its founding members were arrested and convicted for alleged "anti-Soviet activities"; their crime, specifically, creating and participating in a Helsinki Watch Group. Despite Moscow's attempt to repress the existence and activity of the Ukrainian Group, there was a continual and steady influx of new members into the organization. Between 1977 and 1979 the membership of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group increased over threefold.

In 1979, the Soviet Government's response to the expansion of the membership of the Ukrainian Group took a new and accelerated turn. A new wave of arrests occurred, but unlike the earlier arrest for anti-Soviet activities, many of the new members arrested in 1979 and 1980 were charged with common criminal behavior.

This new approach utilized by the Soviet régime to eliminate political dissent clearly indicates that the Soviet Government has become sensitive to the fact that previous tactics of arresting dissidents for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda or for slandering the state was a very thinly veiled facade for the true purpose of persecution—to restrain individuals from exercising their basic human and political rights.

As of this date, all of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitors have been imprisoned, incarcerated in "hard regime" labor camps or exiled.

Mr. **Fascell**. Let me interrupt you there and say we'll go vote and we will come right back. OK?

Mr. **Smorodsky**. No problem.

Mr. **Fascell**. We'll take an informal recess.

[Brief recess.]

Mr. **Fascell**. OK, why don't you continue, please.

Mr. **Smorodsky**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Before we broke for the rollcall vote, I very briefly analyzed in a very synoptic manner the recent repression of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. At this point one must ask why is a government as strong as that of the Soviet Union so fearful of a small handful of men and women who have the courage to advocate their exercise of human rights protected by the Helsinki accords. Why did Ambassador Ilichev so viciously attack the U.S. Ambassador, Max Kampelman, for raising the issue of the fate of the Helsinki monitors at the plenary session of the Madrid Conference?

I submit that the persecution of the Helsinki monitoring groups is more than a governmental persecution of a group of individuals who are exercising their "right to know and act upon their rights." The creation, existence, and persecution of the Helsinki group in the Ukraine and of similar groups in other Soviet Republics is a historical reflection of the basic nature and internal contradiction of the Soviet Union—that which is called the nationalities issue.

We must recognize one basic truth—the Soviet Union is not a homogeneous monolith. To the contrary, it is a forced amalgam of numerous nations and ethnic and racial groups. Moreover, Soviet expansionism is not a new phenomenon on the historical scene, but is merely a further extension of czarist political tradition. As such, the nationalities issue in the U.S.S.R. is an historically permanent operating factor. It is an integral part of Soviet domestic and foreign political processes. It plays a pivotal role in shaping such diverse Soviet policies as capital and labor allocations, energy and defense spending, military conscription as well as East-West and Sino-Soviet relations.

The cement that has been used by Moscow over the centuries to keep its hegemony intact has been a centralized chauvinism known as Russification. Under this policy, Moscow has attempted to eradicate various nations and racial groups in the hope that eventually a synthetic "'Soviet nation" would develop thus crystallizing its empire stretching over half the globe. Any germination of thought that would possibly challenge such a crystallization is and was sought to be eradicated at all cost by the central government.

The creation of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups within the Soviet Union was viewed by Moscow as one of the catalysts that could erode the cement of its empire.

Within a short time of the signing of the accords, the five Helsinki groups developed independently of each other in five national republics of the U.S.S.R.: Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia, Georgia. The groups encompassed various types of political activists and intellectuals including philosophers, artists, religious believers (Christians, Jews, and Moslems) and workers and labor activists. The common demoninator in all these groups was their belief that the rights protected by the Helsinki accords had universal application.

In addition, a primary thrust of all the monitoring groups was the recognition of the right of national and ethnic groups to maintain and develop their cultural and political identity. This was primarily true of the Ukrainian group which in its published documents challenged Moscow's attempts to obliterate the cultural, intellectual and political development of the Ukrainian people.

Thus, clearly, the Kremlin felt that such ideas and activity were totally contrary to their geopolitical interests and policies of Russification and that such expression had to be suppressed.

At the present, despite the attempted eradication of the Helsinki groups, the nationalities issue in the U.S.S.R. is more alive than ever. Because of the international spotlight on the CSCE process, the Helsinki groups were the most visible evidence of the underlying attitudes of the various peoples within the U.S.S.R. Demographically, the populations of national and ethnic minorities has increased at a faster pace than that of the previously dominant Russian population, which is rapidly becoming the minority. History has shown that in spite of centuries of Russification, the polarization of non-Russian nations along national and ethnic lines increased faster than their assimilation into a new "'Soviet nation" based exclusively on Russian norms.

Moscow's argument that national and ethnic differences would disappear as economic progress increased has not been realized. In fact, the exact opposite has occurred. The need for greater economic decentralization, which is required for economic effectiveness, has generated pressure for national economic development of the republics.

Within the past 10 years, numerous spontaneous demonstrations of discontent occurred in Ukraine. In 1972, demonstrations against deteriorating economic conditions occurred in several industrial centers. In 1977-78, a coal miner, Klebanov, attempted to create a free trade union in Donetsk—the primary coal mining region in Ukraine. His attempt to mobilize coal miners throughout Ukraine was proximately related to the deterioration of that industry in Ukraine and the inequitable allocation by Moscow of capital and labor to that republic.

In 1981, numerous strikes occurred in Kiev, Donbas, and Ivano-Frankivsk. The demonstrators were demanding both socio-economic rights as well as national and cultural rights.

We must understand the geopolitical consequence of these movements in Ukraine and the territorial proximity of these events to Poland. Although the Polish experience has its own origins, it will necessarily have an important psychological impact upon the nations of the U.S.S.R., particularly the Ukrainians.

A leading Polish dissident has said, "The Ukrainian question, as far as we Poles are concerned, is the most important question in Europe."

What does all of this mean in the formulation of an effective, countervailing U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union? Thus far, American strategy has been based on the presumption that its policy toward the U.S.S.R. should be a reaction to exclusively Soviet initiatives. The policy of "containment," which was adopted after World War II, continues 35 years later to serve as the basis of our strategy toward the Soviet Union. Thus, Soviet geopolitical and ideological expansionism is to be resisted in the hope that internal forces within the Soviet Union will lead to a "mellowing" of Soviet power. This policy specifically disallows any affirmative action by the United States to exploit or capitalize on indemnic Soviet weaknesses.

The failure of containment has been acknowledged by its author, George Kennan, who projected that no more than 10–15 years would be required under that policy before Soviet power "mellowed." After 35 years, however, that policy has failed to halt Soviet-sponsored terrorism and so-called "wars of national liberation" in the Third World. It has failed to halt the expansion of Soviet hegemony, directly or by proxy, into Africa, the Middle East, Central Asia, the Far East, and Latin America.

What I am suggesting, ladies and gentlemen, is that we realine in a positive, affirmative manner our strategy toward the threat posed by Moscow. Our policy must be directed at something much more than increased military spending. After all, we were supreme in this area at the very time that "containment" was conceived 35 years ago. I submit that the cornerstone of the new strategy must be the vital issues of national and human rights within the Soviet Union itself.

The recent State Department memorandum on the role of human rights in American foreign policy is a welcome development. However, that memorandum is inadequate to sustain a workable policy toward the Soviet Union because it overlooks the rights of various nations and ethnic groups constituting the U.S.S.R. By this omission it fails to recognize the utility of the single most potent moving force in history. Can national and ethnic rights be a concept that is enveloping the world but which stops abruptly at Soviet borders?

It is incredible that the peoples of the Third World have not understood the fact that Russian rule within the U.S.S.R. extends over more than one-third of the total territory of Asia. A generation ago it came as a surprise to most people to learn that there were more Turks in the Soviet Union than in Turkey, and more Moslems than in the United Arab Republic. And this was before, mind you, the demography of the Soviet Union shifted in favor of the non-Russian population. Libya's el-Quadhafi, Iraq's Hussein, and Syria's Al-Assad would do well in reviewing Soviet policies toward the Moslem nations of the U.S.S.R. Fortunately for the Middle East, for Israel and for the United States, the late President Sadat was intimately familiar with this reality and his actions toward the Soviet Union reflected it.

We must understand that by depriving nations and ethnic groups within the Soviet Union of the rights to cultural and political self-expression as well as by repressing the human rights of individuals, the Soviet Government has been able to sustain itself as a global super power that threatens world peace. We, therefore, can and should emphasize the conditions of human rights within the Soviet Union in their individual and collective expression as national and cultural self-determination.

By emphasizing Soviet violations in such areas, the United States would accentuate the Soviet system's weaknesses in the international ideological arena. Such a reorientation of our policy toward the Soviet Union, I submit, would offer a conceptual and moral counterweight to the Soviet system of power. It would counter the Soviet strategy of enticing Western Europe's bilateral economic dependency upon the U.S.S.R. It would counter the Kremlin's so-called "wars of national liberation" in the Third World.

By emphasizing Soviet violations of not only the individual rights but also such rights as national and ethnic rights, the United States would bring attention and support to indigenous movements within the Soviet Bloc that are desperately challenging an uncompromising colonialism. In the process, we would implement a philosophy that is universally accepted and in accord with American political and social thought. Paradoxically, the Soviet Union has proclaimed itself to be the champion of this philosophy—we must show the world that it is not.

Thank you.

Mr. **Fascell**. Thank you very much, Mr. Smorodsky. That is a very thorough and cogent critique of foreign policy and one that I think is very important. Incidentally, I might say that I agree with you 100 percent.

I gather that what you are stating is that the policy which you have outlined as a good policy could also be supported within the context of the C.S.C.E. framework.

Mr. **Smorodsky**. That's correct, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Fascell**. As a matter of fact, I gather you feel that's where it ought to start first.

Mr. **Smorodsky**. Well, the C.S.C.E. is probably the only forum where American foreign policy is presently being expressed at which the issue of individual and national rights has come to the foreground. If we take a look at the development and progression of the C.S.C.E. process from Helsinki, to Belgrade, now to Madrid, we can see that we have increased our attention to the issues of individual and human rights. In Belgrade, the United States was the only country emphasizing individual rights. In Madrid, this U.S. emphasis increased substantially; I think primarily due to the work of this Commission in the interim. In Madrid, not only the United States but other Western allies also discussed the issue of individual rights.

I know the Commission's feeling on the issue of national rights and I applaud it. I would like to see it emphasized see in the future. The C.S.C.E. process is—I am going to limit myself to the C.S.C.E. process as a modality of expression of this new form of emphasis in foreign policy—an opportunity where this new policy could be put into practice.

We are faced in Madrid with an ongoing discussion of new proposals. There is tabled a proposal on CBM's which we are negotiating with the opposition. We also have tabled our own positive proposal for an experts meeting on human rights. In my opinion the nationalities issue can be further advanced within C.S.C.E. modality if we make it clear that establishment of an experts meeting on human rights is our bottom line; that the U.S. will not accept any type of disarmament C.B.M. conference, without corresponding balance in the development of the Helsinki process, specifically in the area of human rights. If we do have an experts meeting on individual rights, that conference, or experts meeting must include discussion of the issue of national and ethnic right and also the rights of self-determination of nations. Additionally, if and when there should be a followup meeting after Madrid, those issues must also be discussed during the review of implementation stage.

I also think we have a responsibility to bring up the issue of national rights within the bilateral meetings which we have with the NATO allies and with the EC–10 to make sure that they also follow the United States' lead in supporting the discussion of national rights.

There are a variety of other ways in which the C.S.C.E. can pursue a new foreign policy approach, one of which is conducting hearings of this nature where the issue of national rights comes to the foreground and to publish these discussions.

I recently had the opportunity to read the President's Semiannual Report on the C.S.C.E. process. I note that within this report the section on cultural and national self-expression, better known as Principle 8, is limited to one paragraph. I would respectfully suggest that our State Department increase the emphasis on these particular areas, especially national rights.

Mr. **Fascell**. I certainly agree with that. It seems to me also, very simply we just cannot let the Soviet Union continue to do what they have been doing since World War II, and maybe before that, which is to have their cake and eat it too. In other words, the Soviets have taken the position that they can go anywhere in the world and do anything they want and call it a War for National Liberation or the Working Man's Revolution, or whatever they want to call it, and that's not interference, that's just good politics. But if you talk about anything else that affects them, then immediately they start screaming about internal interference. But they interfere with everybody all over the world.

Mr. **Smorodsky**. I understand that.

Mr. **Fascell**. We just can't let them get away with that.

Mr. **Smorodsky**. I'd like to make just one closing remark. What I am trying to suggest is a reorientation based on national and ethnic rights. I think it is not only the right thing to do, because these rights are protected by the Helsinki accords and other international agreements, but simply put, it is also in the U.S. national interest.

Mr. **Fascell**. Mrs. Fenwick.

Mrs. **Fenwick**. Yes, I think that is a very important point that we haven't heard enough about. The Soviet Union is an empire and we don't say that often enough either. Speaking of colonies and speaking of empires, as I think you have written here, one-third of all Asia, an enormous continent forms the Empire. The people are completely separated in every kind of cultural and national way.

They have nothing to do with the people who live in Russia proper from the point of view of racial, or ethnic, or——

Mr. **Smorodsky.** I understand, and I would also like to emphasize the particular strategic role of the Ukrainian people in the nationalities issue which I'm sure you are aware of. Again, it's in the national interest of the United States to pursue it.

Mrs. **Fenwick.** But you know what the Czar said. He said that any free and independent Poland would be an impossible threat to czarist Russia. This was written in 1874.

Mr. **Smorodsky.** Times have not changed, have they?

Mrs. **Fenwick.** No. It is very good testimony. I'm so sorry that we had all these votes. We thank you.

Mr. **Smorodsky.** Thank you.

Mr. **Fascell.** Mr. Ritter. He wants to ask you at least one question.

Mr. **Smorodsky.** More than happy to respond.

Mr. **Ritter.** I think we understood you to say that the the Poles consider the Ukrainian question of paramount importance.

Mr. **Smorodsky.** That's correct.

Mr. **Ritter.** It is almost, you would think, the other way, that the Ukrainians think the Polish question is of paramount importance. But are they, the Polish people, actually looking toward the Ukrainian situation?

Mr. **Smorodsky.** The quote that I gave is from Yatsak Kuron who was a member of KOR, the predecessor to Solidarity, and is one of the ideological leaders of the Solidarity movement.

I think the issue of the role of Ukraine vis-a-vis Poland has been understood by the Poles very well, but it also has been understood extremely well by the Soviet KGB. Presently, the press discussed the report of Mr. Tsvigun, chief of the Soviet KGB, where he says he has the total control over the dissident situation. However, there is another report that comes from the KGB chief of Ukraine. I forget this gentleman's name, I don't have it in front of me. The essence of his report was that the governmental organs and party and people of the Ukraine must be very vigilant as to what is happening in Poland so that it does not infect Ukraine. Obviously, they are extremely concerned.

Two months ago the income level of the coal miners in the Donbas region was increased by 27 percent. That was a phenomenal increase, not only in capitalist countries but especially so for the Soviet system. It clearly indicated that that concession was given for a purpose. Was it because Klebanov in 1978 was trying to unionize these coal miners? Was it because Nikityn was trying to unionize these workers in 1980? Obviously they have economic discontent going on, which is also a version of national discontent.

Mr. **Ritter.** My point was that you stated the Poles consider their situation in Ukraine of paramount importance.

Mr. **Smorodsky.** Why?

Mr. **Ritter.** Yes.

Mr. **Smorodsky.** Well, why don't we take a look at the geopolitical realities. What we have at the present time is "Soviet Union" on the borders of Poland. If perchance the development of national rights within the Baltics and the Ukrainian Republic were to succeed, what you have then is a buffer between Poland and the

Soviet Union. I think to the Poles it is a very critical geopolitical reality.

Mr. RITTER. Are there any contacts between Ukraine and Poland in this regard?

Mr. SMORODSKY. You mean Ukrainians and the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and Poland?

Mr. RITTER. Yes.

Mr. SMORODSKY. Yes, in a very in direct manner. What has been going on in Poland on television and on radio is beamed directly to Ukraine up to L'vov and Ternopil. It is picked up on their television sets in Ukraine. They are fully aware——

Mr. RITTER. Western Ukraine is receiving——

Mr. SMORODSKY. Western Ukraine is fully aware of what is happening in Poland. They do not block or jam Polish radio. You can't block television. Information of events in Poland is spread within Western Ukraine.

Mr. RITTER. Thank you.

Mr. SMORODSKY. My pleasure.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you very much. Before we call our next witness I would just like to recognize our distinguished colleague from Michigan, Congressman John Conyers is here. We are very happy to see him. If you have any prepared testimony, we would be delighted to have it in the record or we will hold the record open for you in case you want to say anything.

Mr. CONYERS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. RITTER. It gives me great pleasure to introduce our next witness, a woman of great courage and great achievement whom I've had the pleasure of meeting with personally on several occasions. Dr. Nina Strokata is a microbiologist and medical researcher who spent over 3 years in the Soviet strict regimen labor camp for her human rights activities. A founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, she and her husband Sviatoslav Karavansky, who has spent 30 years in Soviet camps, were forced to emigrate from Ukraine in 1979.

Accompanying Dr. Strokata and translating her statement will be Mr. Karkov.

## STATEMENT BY DR. NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKY

Dr. STROKATA [through interpreter]. Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission, ladies and gentlemen. I consider my testimony, before one of the most prestigious Commissions of the U.S. Congress, to be testimony before the whole world. Anticipating, therefore, that my testimony is to be made public, I wish to take this opportunity to present certain conclusions:

The destruction of Ukraine's independent nationhood was the prelude to the contemporary tragedies of nations such as Kampuchia, Afghanistan, and Poland.

Information about the annihilation of Ukrainians by artificial famine and in death camps evoked neither belief nor attention from world governments or the League of Nations.

The tragedies of many nations were the result of national egotism and short-sightedness in the face of perceived danger from two parallel aspects of facism.

My people, even today, are suffering from the aftermath of events which occurred 40 and 60 years ago: artificial famine, forced deportations, serfdom of "Kolhoz"—collective farms—as a result of which Ukraine lost vast numbers of people to whom the concepts of land and freedom were equivalent. The extermination of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the liquidation of the national church resulted in massive damage to the Ukrainian national organism. In the brutal time of World War II, the population of Ukraine found itself between two enemies who completed the holocaust of Ukraine. The world witnessed a previously unknown event: masses of people abandoned their homeland, fearing the restoration of Moscow's Bolshevik regime. Those who remained became the victims of Stalin's post-war retributions against non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R.

"The newly born generations lived their childhood amidst mass graves," writes Yaroslav Lesiw, Ukrainian Helsinki Group member. This slaughter not only deprived the children of their innocence, but also molded people who later became the creators and participants of the spontaneous Ukrainian rebirth of the 1960's. The spontaneous rebirth of Ukrainian activity in the in the early 1960's was spearheaded by people who were born in the 1930's and 1940's and who had therefore escaped the period of planned genocide. The names of new poets, writers, artists, publicists, researchers, composers, and actors resounded in the 1960's as the long-awaited prophets of the Ukrainian national idea. The Ukrainian human rights movement had gathered such strength that in the late 1960's the Ukrainian unofficial journal, Ukrainian Herald, appeared.

The massive repressions of 1972 were the governmental reaction to the new organic processes of Ukrainian life. Despite fears that these repressions would cause irreparable harm to the rebirth of independent Ukrainian ideas, such fears proved unfounded.

After the 1975 Helsinki accords, that which was unheard of during the massive terror of the preceding years became reality: for the first time in modern Ukrainian history, an unsanctioned citizen's group (the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords) announced its existence and its aims on November 5, 1976.

This rebirth of independent ideas, expression, press (samvydav) and independent public life expressed in the unsanctioned national Helsinki Group, awakened especially harsh repressions against all who participated in the independent national life in present day Ukraine.

This independent Ukrainian public life not only threatens to expose Moscow's myth of the international nature of Soviet society, but also threatens the ideological and military expansionism of the Soviet imperialist regime. This is why repression against independent thought in Ukraine assumed the form of ethnocide. This is also why the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was repressed and punished by all possible methods of anti-Ukrainian terror.

I will submit for your information materials in which I set forth the history of the creation and the subsequent repression of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. (See p. 69.)

I would like now to draw your attention to certain statistics which characterize the demographic and social makeup of the 37 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group:

Birth dates: before 1925, 6 members; 1926 to 1945, 24 members; after 1945, 7 members. Sex: men, 30; women, 7. Nationality: Ukrainian, 35; Jewish, 1; Russian, 1. Occupation: laborers, 3; military, 1; religious, 1; creative intellectuals (writers, publicists, artists, composers), 12; professionals (physicians, engineers, lawyers, and teachers), 18; students deprived of the opportunity to complete education, 2; former members of public and political organizations (OUN, UNF, Laborers and Farmers Union, Communist Party), 13, (membership in Komsomol is not considered due to the massive and formal nature of the organization); former political prisoners, 27 (including prisoners of Stalinist camps, 10); members joining the Group while imprisoned, 9.

These statistics support the following conclusions: The Ukrainian Helsinki Group is a national, public association of men and women who grew up during the time of massive destruction of Ukrainians. The group members in turn became the victim of permanent anti-Ukrainian repressions. The members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group are individuals who have already tested themselves in public or political activity, mostly in the intellectual sphere.

Today, 27 of the 36 living members are incarcerated in prisons, camps, or are in exile: 3 in prison and 20 in labor camps—including 8 in special regime labor camps.

I am not going to speak about the person who committed suicide, M. Melnyk, or those who were forced to emigrate in the West, Petr Vins, Grigorenko, Karavansky, Malinkovych, Svitlychna, and Strokata-Karavansky, or those who finished their sentences, Shabatura, Rev. Romaniuk, or the person who was unexpectedly released, Rozumny.

As a former prisoner of a strict regime camp, as the wife of former prisoner Sviatoslav Karavansky, who has spent 30 years in prison and in both special and strict regimen camps, I can describe the living conditions of those who are imprisoned for their membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Any penal system requires the regimentation of prisoner lives. The principles of the fundamentals of corrective labor legislation of the U.S.S.R. specify that punishment should not inflict suffering.

Let us examine how the daily needs of prisoners are met. We will begin with nutrituion.

Article 36 of the fundamentals of corrective labor legislation of the U.S.S.R. and its commentary states that the level of nutrition depends on a prisoner's attitude toward his assigned work and that the prisoner's refusal to work and systematic underfulfilling of work norms and assignments shall be treated as malicious avoidance of work.

Prisoners of conscience are usually sentenced to labor camps of strict regime. Depending on fulfillment of work norms, strict regimen prisoners may suffer further restrictions on their dietary norm. First of all, let me say that only water is available in unlimited quantities. The following level of nutrition is specified for such camps:

Amino acids: No provision for their rational proportion.

Vitamins: Proportion and amount not considered.

Protein: Daily requirement varies for several nutritional levels (65 grams, 55 grams, 38 grams, 22.5 grams for four different levels of nutrition).

Caloric value: 2,500 calories; 2,100 calories; 1,900 calories; 900 calories (in four different levels of nutrition).

I have on previous occasions presented these figures. Some may think such dietary norms cannot sustain life. Others see in these regulated caloric levels a good opportunity to maintain a slim waistline. I must emphasize that a prisoner must work and fulfill his norm on a prison diet which is not only low in calories, but is also deficient in protein and contains no vitamins. If a prisoner does not fulfill his work norm, he is punished by reduced daily nutritional intake, while still being required to fulfill his original work norm. As a result, the prisoner—debilitated by chronic malnutrition—loses his ability to work by a further reduction in his daily ration. This is a new example of the classic phenomenon of the vicious circle.

With my hand on the Bible, I would attest to the following: Millions of prisoners in the U.S.S.R. are slaves kept under the threat of chronic hunger while the lawmakers of the U.S.S.R. have become operators who direct the fundamental physiological functions of the prisoner's organism.

The standardization of prisoners' clothing is one of the oldest traditions of penal systems. In the U.S.S.R., this tradition has developed into a method of molding and tormenting the prisoner. The standardization of prisoners' clothing in the U.S.S.R. has a specific objective: prisoners in the cold climates of the Soviet Union are subjected to tortue by cold. Any attempt to put on additional clothing is treated as a violation of the regime and is punished by isolation in the closed, colder cells after almost all clothing is removed from the prisoner.

The living conditions of prisoners in the U.S.S.R. are such that I use the term "antiexistence." It seems that terms such as "Soviet punitive medicine" and "Soviet punitive psychiatry" have become almost commonplace. I attest to the fact that the life of prisoners in the U.S.S.R. is based on the principle of punitive sanitation.

For inclusion in the record, please accept my separate statement, with a commentary on the corrective labor legislation of the U.S.S.R. (See p. 81.)

I draw the following conclusions from my examination of various aspects of prison life in the U.S.S.R.: prolonged confinement of prisoners under Soviet conditions leaves physical and spiritual scars. Lengthy periods of imprisonment for religious, political and ideological convictions constitute a program of deliberate destruction of a person's professional and intellectual skills. The unsanitary conditions of a prisoner's daily existence, directed against the prisoner's mind, body and spirit, are an indisputable proof of the use of torture in the U.S.S.R.. The persistent assault of the Soviet penal system on the physical and mental health of its prisoners should be reviewed according to international definitions of torture. The Government of the U.S.S.R. should bear full moral and legal responsibility before the international community for the use of torture.

My analysis of Soviet camps and prisons is primarily in light of the continued imprisonment of members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. But I cannot forget that similar conditions are the daily lot of millions of prisoners in the U.S.S.R..

Intellectuals confined in Soviet prisons or camps are subjected to additional methods of humiliation. Prisoners' poems are confiscated (almost the entire literary writings of Vasyl Stus during his first imprisonment in 1972-1977 were destroyed). Prisoners' paintings are also confiscated and burned (that is, the destruction of the "ex libris" drawings and of working sketches of Stefania Shabatura). Mykola Rudenko's wife, Raisa, was subjected to severe repression for her attempts to save her imprisoned husband's poetry from oblivion: She was sentenced to 10 years of camp and exile.

I would like to briefly describe the conditions of internal exile. Ukrainian political prisoners serve their exiles beyond the borders of Ukraine, in the regions of Siberia, Yakutia, Kazakhstan or the far east. During the term of internal exile, as during imprisonment, work on government projects is mandatory. During his exile in 1980, Vasyl Lisovy was sentenced to additional imprisonment because he was unable to work due to poor health. Exile is only a slight improvement over imprisonment: one can put on as much clothing as one's tired body demands and can eat one's fill.

At every occasion of public testimony I mention the name of Yury Shukhevych who has endured 29 years of imprisonment. In 1979 he participated in the prisoners' (camp) Helsinki Group and later joined the Ukrainian Public Helsinki Group. I will submit for the record a separate statement on Yury Shukhevych. (See p. 105.)

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group has many supporters. Some of them were cruelly punished, foremost among them Hanna Mychaylenko and Vasyl Barladyanu. I will submit for the record a separate statement with information about them. (See pp. 99, 102.)

Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Badzyo deserves special mention. I submit an informational summary on his fate. (See p. 108.)

Thank you for your attention. I am ready to answer any questions you may have to the best of my ability.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you very much, Doctor, for that description and observation of the miserable conditions in prison. We want to thank you also for the additional information which you have submitted which we will make a part of the record.

Mr. FASCELL. I gather you suffered the same fate in prison camp. Could you briefly describe your own experience?

Dr. STROKATA [through interpreter]. My presentation here in a shortened version, is a direct result of my imprisonment in the camps.

Mr. FASCELL. So this expresses her own experience.

Dr. STROKATA [through interpreter]. That is correct. I wanted to stop and focus on this particular aspect because it seems that after all that was written and said by Solzhenitsyn on the Gulag there would seem that there would be nothing more to add. But as a result, after an almost 2 year's stay in the Western World, I have the impression that among some people here in the West there is an impression that somehow things have gotten better or improved over time. For this reason I have presented this information so that there can be no doubt that conditions have not improved in the camps.

Today's hearing is dedicated to the fifth year anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, most of whose members are today In strict regimen camps. For this reason, I wanted to leave an impression among the members of the Commission present what it means for the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group who are sentenced to maximum prison terms of 10 years in the conditions I have described. Hunger, cold, psychological torture is what awaits these people.

Mr. **Fascell**. I want to assure Doctor Strokata that we understand what you are saying here in the Commission. One of the reasons that we hold these hearings from time to time is to make a public record available to anybody who wants it; so that the world can know. We on the Commission are very anxious to disseminate this information as a part of the record of an official U.S. governmental agency. While we commemorate the brave spirit of the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, we want the world to know the facts and to support their efforts in every way possible. Mrs. Fenwick.

Mrs. **Fenwick**. I echo the words of my chairman and if it wouldn't be too hard for you, could you tell us what you have referred to for the first time that I have seen it in these many, many hearings that we have had concerning prison conditions: what is the sanitation situation you referred to with one word in your testimony?

Dr. **Strokata** [through interpreter]. I have submitted this information in the form of a report on Soviet legislation concerning legal proceedings and implementation of penalties upon which I base my conclusion of punitive sanitation.

Mrs. **Fenwick**. That's what I would be interested in, and this would be part of the record, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. **Fascell**. Yes.

Mrs. **Fenwick**. Thank you very much, thank you.

Mr. **Fascell**. Doctor, thank you very much. We appreciate you being here today and being so patient. This is a very important record and we welcome your contribution.

Dr. **Strokata** [through interpreter]. I thank all those who are not indifferent to the fate of my nation.

[Materials submitted for the record by Nina Strokata follow:]

# TESTIMONY OF DR. NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKY

# ON THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP:

## A BRIEF HISTORY (1976-81)

On November 9, 1976, ten repressed and persecuted Ukrainians composed the text of the Declaration announding the founding of the Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

The creation of an open and unauthorized public group under a totalitarian regime began a new era in the life of Ukrainian dissent.

The ten founders of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were aware that the final Helsinki Act was not superior to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or to other international pacts of this kind. Nevertheless, the Final Act of 1975 had the advantage of being the most recent humanitarian document of a legal nature to appear in the world and to concern itself seriously with human rights. The founders of the Group realized that, in exchange for the insincere promises of the USSR, thirty-five nations signed a document that recognizes the post-war borders of the Soviet Union and creates the conditions for strengthening a system that functions as a barrier against freedom and demoncracy. But Basket Three of the Act of 1975 could become an effective contemporary alternative to totalitarianism. The Group therefore proposed as its aim the informing of all the participants of the Helsinki Act of the problems of Ukraine within the USSR.

Information about the circumstances how the Ukrainian Helsinki Group arose has been made public before.[1,2] Today one can hardly add anything more, except perhaps something of the fate of those who, guided by the ideas already described above, drafted and signed the first documents of the Group.

The text of the Declaration about the forming of the Group and its first memorandum (program) was signed by all the founding members: OLES BERDNYK, PETRO HRYHORENKO, IVAN KANDYBA, LEVKO LUKYANENKO, MYKOLA MATUSEVYCH, MYROSLAV MARYNOVYCH, OKSANA MESHKO, MYKOLA RUDENKO, NINA STROKATA, OLEKSY TYKHY. The founding members comprised both males and females; there were authors, researchers, jurists, a historian, a philosopher, a former professional military man, and an engineer.

The first head of the Group was the Ukrainian writer MYKOLA RUDENKO.

Hardly three months passed from the Group's founding when RUDENKO and TYKHY were arrested (February 1977). The youngest founding members, MATUSEVYCH and MARYNOVYCH, were arrested soon after (April 1977).

Beginning in November 1976, the Group began to attract the attention not only of the repressive system but also of those fellow countrymen who expressed faith in the idea of an independent national public association. Thus, in spite of the arrests, the number of members of the Group. During 1977 the following became members of the Group: PETRO SICHKO (father), VASYL SICHKO (son), VASYL STRILTSIV, PETRO VINS, YOSYF ZISELS, OLHA HEYKO-MATUSEVYCH, MYKOLA HORBAL, VITALIY KALYNYCHENKO, YURY LYTVYN, and VASYL OVSIYENKO. Action in the Group's work was also its correspondent MYKHAYLO MELNYK. One of the most active of the Group's members was NADIA SVYTLYCHNA.

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[1] See Suchasnist, 1980, N10, p. 63.

[2] Ukraine and the Helsinki Accords. Human Rights Commission World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Toronto, New York, 1980, p. 141.

A second membership body resulted because of the efforts of these men and women.

In 1977 the Group made a daring effort to force the regime to acknowledge the fact of the Group's existence. As a result, there appeared in October of that year a document proposing to the rulers of Ukraine that they recognize the Group as a common organization carrying out its activities in accordance with its declared principles. Documents with similar arguments were signed by BERDNYK (the head of the Group after the arrest of RUDENKO) and five founding members who had not as yet emigrated or been jailed. In April 1978, LUKYANENKO (already under investigation) brought up, as a jurist, the question of the right of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to the same status as that enjoyed by other sanctioned cultural, public, and sports groups. In February 1979, LUKYANENKO (writing from a concentration camp along with TYKHY, who had been sentenced earlier) renewed his efforts for the right of life for a public association created to promote the implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

In 1979, as in 1977 and in 1978, there was no answer to the petitions of the Group's members. But perhaps it would be more accurate to say that an answer was given in the form of repressive actions, since 1979 brought with it a devastating series of blows. The second head of the Group, writer OLES BERDNYK, and eight co-opted members were arrested (HORBAL; LYTVYN; the two SICHKOS; LESIV, who was a member of the Group for two months; KALYNYCHENKO; STRILTSIV: and ROSUMNY, who had just joined the Group).

In the same year, a number of other persons joined the Group: Ukrainian poets and recent political prisoners ZINOVY KRASIVSKY, IVAN SOKULSKY, VASYL STUS, as well as VOLODYMYR MALINKOVYCH, a physician.

Among those who supported the Helsinki movement were political prisoners. In 1979 in a concentration camp (men's special regime camp in the village of Sosnovka, Mordovia), there was founded the Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in imprisonment. The very name of the group speaks for its composition and goals. This name was often shortened to Helsinki Camp Group.

The members of the Helsinki Camp Group were political prisoners of various nationalities: BALIS GAYAUSKAS, OLEKSANDER GINZBURG, SVYATOSLAV KARAVANSKY, EDUARD KUZNETZOV, BOHDAN REBRYK, the orthodox priest VASYL ROMANYUK, DANYLO SHUMUK.

At the same time that the Helsinki Camp Group was being formed in Sosnovka, Mordovia, in another camp in Mordovia, MYKOLA RUDENKO (the first head of the Group) was serving his sentence for membership in the Ukrainian Group. RUDENKO had announced several times that he would continue his Helsinki activities in the camps, and his signatures appeared on the documents of the newly-formed Camp Group.

To this very day, OKSANA POPOVYCH, sentenced in 1974, is serving her prison term in Mordovia. This woman also became a member of the Camp Group, as did, using the traditional methods of prison communications, YURY SHUKHEVYCH, the lifelong prisoner.

The camp component part of the Ukrainian Helsinki movement was not a stable one because some prisoners were finishing the camp period of their sentence (like Father ROMANYUK, who was sent into exile in Yakutia in 1979), and some were ending their whole sentence (like KARAVANSKY). GINZBURG and KUSNETZOV, as is known, were traded in 1979 for two Soviet spies and arrived in the USA.

Thus in the summer of 1979, Ukrainians comprised the majority of the Helsinki Camp Group. They formed The Ukrainian section of the Helsinki Camp Group.

In the autumn of 1979 when the existence of the Helsinki Group in Ukraine was endangered by the arrests of its members, the Ukrainian section of the Camp Group proposed a pooling of resources. The representatives' forum of the Helsinki Group in Ukraine then co-opted the co-opted members of the Camp Group into its organization. Among political exiles who joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were jounalist VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL, poet IRYNA SENYK, and artist STEFANIA SHABATURA.

Also in 1979 we get the third membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

The memorandum on the occasion of the KGB's intent to uproot the Helsinki Group in Ukraine was signed by all those who were active in the Ukrainian Helsinki movement in the autumn of 1979: MYKOLA HORBAL, VITALY KALYNCHENKO, IVAN KANDYBA, SVYATOSLAV KARAVANSKY, YAROSLAV LEISV, VOLODYMYR MALYNKOVYCH, OKSANA MESHKO, OKSANA POPOVYCH, BOHDAN REBRYK, PETRO ROSUMNY, VASYL ROMANYUK, IRYNA SENYK, IVAN SOKULSKY, VASYL STRILTSIV, NINA STROKATA, VASYL STUS, VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL, STEFANIA SHABATURA, DANYLO SHUMUK, and YURY SHUKHEVYCH.

The year 1980, the year of the Olympics and of Madrid was the year of arrests of almost all the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Arrested were OKSANA MESHKO, one of the initiators of the Group who is not without cause treated as the third head of the Group; HEYKO-MATUSEVYCH, wife of founding member MYKOLA MATUSEVYCH; KRASIVSKY, SOKULSKY, CHORNOVIL, and STUS.

In the 1981, IVAN KANYBA was arrested, the last member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group still remaining on Ukrainian soil.

The repressive regime seemed to want to prevent anyone from acting independently and, after sixty years of terror, entertaining any thought of a rebirth of public life in Ukraine. Every possible method of anti-Ukrainian terrorism was used to destroy the Helsinki movement in Ukraine. In order to smash the Ukrainian Helskinki Group, Soviet organs have resorted to discrediting accused persons with falsified evidence of criminal activity. For example:

- TYKHY, OLEKSA -- accused in 1977 of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda as well as of criminal possession of a rusty rifle (World War II model);
- MATUSEVYCH, MYKOLA -- accused in 1977 of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and acts of hooliganism;
- VINS, PETRO -- accused in 1978 of idleness (parasitism);
- OVSIENKO, VASYL -- accused in 1978 of resisting police;
- LYTVYN, YURIY -- accused in 1979 of resisting police;

- HORBAL, MYKOLA -- accused in 1979 of resisting police and of attempted rape;
- LESIV, YAROSLAV -- accused in 1979 of possession of narcotics;
- STRILTSIV, VASYL -- accused in 1979 of violating passport regulations;
- ROZUMNY, PETRO -- accused in 1979 of possessing a steel weapon (hunting knife);
- CHORNOVIL, VYACHESLAV -- accused in 1980 of attempted rape.

YOSYF ZISELS, PETRO SICHKO, VASYL SICHKO, and OLHA HEYKO-MATUSEVYCH were sentenced for slandering the regime and the social order. The accusations against all these persons appear to be merely politically motivated, but those who are sentenced on the basis of such accusations are sent to camps for common criminals.

ZINOVIY KRASIVSKY was sent to a labor camp and later to exile without any court investigation (in 1980). The KRASIVSKY case, illustrates how the proven method of repressions without trial has been used by the Soviets against the amnestied. (KRASIVSKY was amnestied in 1978 because of poor health).

For the individuals sentenced through overt indictment for Helsinki activities, the following sentences were given:

- BERDNYK, OLEKSANDER -- six years in special-regimen labor camp and three years of exile;
- KALYNCHENKO, VITALIY -- 10 years in special-regimen labor camp and five years in exile;
- KANDYBA, IVAN -- 10 years in special-regimen labor camp and five years in exile;
- LUKIANENKO, LEV -- 10 years in special-regimen labor camp and five years in exile;
- MARYNOVYCH, MYROSLAV -- seven years in strict-regimen labor camp and five years in exile;
- MATUSEVYCH, MYKOLA -- seven years in strict-regimen labor camp and five years in exile;
- MESHKO, OKSANA[3] -- after having been committed twice to a psychiatric hospital and folliwing a six-month stay in a pre-investigation prison, she was sentenced to five years of exile;
- RUDENKO, MYKOLA -- seven years in strict-regimen labor camp and five years in exile;
- SOKULSKY, IVAN -- 10 years in special-regimen labor camp and five years in exile;

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[3] MESHKO was born in 1905.

- STUS, VASYL -- 10 years in special-regimen labor camp and five years in exile;

- TYKHY, OLEKSA -- 10 years in special-regimen labor camp and five years in exile.

The regime did not forget, however, the use of psychological and psychiatric terror and the "classic" method of torture associated with such a practice. At least three of the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group found themselves threatened with psychiatric torture (RUDENKO, VASY SICHKO, MESHKO). PETRO VINS (in 1978) and STUS (in 1980) were subjected to physical torture.

We must also mention the suicide of MYKHAILO MELNYK after his apartment was searched and all his literary writings were expropriated.

From the most recent information which pertains to the repressed members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, special attention should be given to the arrest of RAISA RUDENKO, the wife of the first chairman of the Group.

It is now a known fact, that on September 11, Mrs. RUDENKO was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Information about the formal contents of the indictment and about the regimen of imprisonment of Mrs. RUDENKO has not yet reached us.

The total persecution of families has always been a part of the arsenal of Moscow's repressive system. It has been used not infrequently against the families of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group members: the arrest of the two sons of PETRO SICHKO and the harassment of his wife; the expulsion of the wife of MARYNOVYCH from the university; the harassment of the wife of MELNYK even after his death.

Not only families of the group members, but their friends and sympathizers as well, have been persecuted. For example, HANNA MYKHAILENKO was sentenced by a court to imprisonment in a psychiatric hospital on the same day that the Madrid Conference began its work in 1980. Another example is VASYL BARLADIANU, who was not granted his freedom when his prison term ended in 1980.

During the period of growing repression against the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the Group was the only one of its kind in the USSR to publish a periodical. The Information Bulletin was the collective authorial organ of the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

The Group was devastated not only by arrests but by the forced emigration of the following members: HRYHORENKO, SVITLYCHNA, PETRO VINS, KARAVANSKY, STROKATA, and MALINKOVYCH.

On the authorization of the repressed Group, there was created abroad the EXTERNAL REPRESENTATION OF THE UKRAINIAN GROUP.

Its members have received formal mandates from the members of the UHG in Ukraine, and their duties are regulated by their mandates. The members are PETRO HRYHORENKO (USA), LEONID PLYUSHCH (France), and NINA STROKATA (USA). In carrying out its assignment, the External Representation continues the traditions established by the UHG in Ukraine and takes into account the new ideas put forth by the UHG.

Continuing the traditions of Ukrainian independent publications, in 1980, external Representation began to publish a monthly bulletin, Herald of Repression in Ukraine. The bulletin publishes supplements that present the new ideas of the Ukrainian patriotic struggle and give information about individuals active in the Ukrainian opposition.

## MEMBERSHIP LIST AND PRESENT STATUS
## OF THE
## UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

Founding Members (Nov. 1976)
Co-opted Members and Correspondents (from 1977)

| NAME | PERIOD OF ACTIVITY | FORM OF MEMBERSHIP | PLACE WHERE JOINED | DURING BELGRADE PERIOD | DURING MADRID PERIOD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BERDNYK Oles | 11/76-3/79 | Founding member | Kiev | Active | Serving sentence |
| HRYHORENKO Petro | 11/76-11/77 | Founding member | Moscow | Deprived of USSR citizenship | Member of UHG External Representation, now in USA |
| KANDYBA Ivan | 11/76-3/81 | Founding member | Lviv Oblast, Ukraine | Restricted civil liberties | Serving sentence |
| LUKIANENKO Levko | 11/76-12/77 | Founding member | Chernihiv, Ukraine | Pre-trial detention | Serving sentence |
| MARYNOVYCH Myroslav | 11/76-4/77 | Founding member | Kiev Oblast | Pre-trial detention | Serving sentence |
| MATUSEVYCH Mykola | 11/76-4/77 | Founding member | Kiev | Pre-trial detention | Serving sentence |
| MESHKO Oksana | 11/76-6/80 | Founding member | Kiev | Searches and open surveillance | Serving term of exile, in danger of psychiatric incarceration |
| RUDENKO Mykola | 11/76-2/77 | Founding member and head | Kiev | Serving sentence | Serving sentence |
| STROKATA (STROKATOVA) Nina | 11/76- | Founding member | Place of compulsory residence outside Ukraine | Restricted civil liberties | Member of UHG External Representation, renounced USSR citizenship, forced to emigrate in 1979, now in USA |
| TYKHY Oleksa | 11/76-2/77 | Founding member | Donetsk Oblast, Ukraine | Serving sentence | Serving sentence |

MEMBERSHIP LIST (contined)

| NAME | PERIOD OF ACTIVITY | FORM OF MEMBERSHIP | PLACE WHERE JOINED | DURING BELGRADE PERIOD | DURING MADRID PERIOD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CHORNOVIL Vyacheslav | 10/79-4/80 | Co-opted member | Place of exile outside Ukraine | | Serving additional sentence |
| HEYKO (MATUSEVYCH) Olha | 4/77-3/80 | Co-opted member | Kiev | Inactive | Renewed activity; serving sentence |
| HORBAL Mykola | /77-10/79 | Undeclared member, later co-opted | Kiev | Active | Serving sentence |
| KALYNYCHENKO Vitaliy | 11/77-11/79 | Co-opted member | Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, Ukraine | Restricted civil liberties | Serving sentence |
| KARAVANSKY Svyatoslav | 2/79- | Co-opted from labor camp group | Sosnovka Labor Camp, Mordovian ASSR | | Renounced USSR citizenship; forced to emigrate in 1979, now in USA |
| KRASIVSKY Zinoviy | 10/79-3/80 | Co-opted member | Lviv Oblast, Ukraine | | Sent to labor camp without investigation or trial |
| LESIV Yaroslav | 9/79-11/79 | Co-opted member | Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Ukraine | | Serving sentence |
| LYTVYN Yuriy | 12/77-8/79 | Undeclared member, later co-opted | Kiev Oblast | Restricted civil liberties | Serving sentence |
| MALYNKOVYCH Volodymyr | 12/78-12/79 | Co-opted member | Kiev | | Forced to emigrate in 1979, now in West Germany |
| MELNYK Mykhaylo | 11/77-3/79 | Correspondent | Kiev Oblast | Committed suicide unde KGB pressure | |
| OVSIYENKO Vasyl | 3/77-11/78 | Co-opted member | Zhytomyr Oblast, Ukraine | Active | Serving sentence |

MEMBERSHIP LIST (continued)

| NAME | PERIOD OF ACTIVITY | FORM OF MEMBERSHIP | PLACE WHERE JOINED | DURING BELGRADE PERIOD | DURING MADRID PERIOD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| POPOVYCH Oksana | 2/79- | Co-opted from labor camp group | Barashevo Labor Camp, Mordovian ASSR | | Serving sentence since 1975 |
| REBRYK Bohdan | 2/79 | Co-opted from labor camp group | Sosnovka Labor Camp, Mordovian ASSR | | Serving sentence since 1974 |
| ROMANYUK Vasyl | 2/79- | Co-opteed from labor camp group | Sosnovka Labor Camp, Mordovian ASSR | | Recently complted full term |
| ROZUMNY Petro | 10/79-12/79 | Co-opted member | Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, Ukraine | | Unexpectedly released in 1981, recently for unknown reasons |
| SENYK Iryna | 5/79- | Co-opted member | Place of exile outside Ukraine | | Serving term of exile since 1978 |
| SHABATURA Stefania | 10/79- | Co-opted member | Place of exile outside Ukraine | | Open police surveillance; under threat of new persecution |
| SHUKHEVYCH-BEREZYNSKY Yuriy | 1/79 | Co-opted from labor camp group | Chistopol Prison, Tatar ASSR | | Serving sentence since 1972 |
| SHUMUK Danylo | 2/79- | Co-opted from labor camp group | Sosnovka Labor Camp Mordovian ASSR | | Serving sentence since 1972 |
| SICHKO Petro | 4/77-7/79 | Co-opted member | Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Ukraine | Active | Serving sentence |
| SICHKO Vasyl | 4/77-7/79 | Co-opted member | Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Ukraine | Underwent psychiatric repression | Serving sentence |
| SOKULSKY Ivan | 10/79-4/80 | Co-opted member | Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, Ukraine | | Serving sentence |
| STRILTSIV Vasyl | 4/77-10/79 | Co-opted member | Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Ukraine | Active | Serving sentence |

MEMBERSHIP LIST (continued)

| NAME | PERIOD OF ACTIVITY | FORM OF MEMBERSHIP | PLACE WHERE JOINED | DURING BELGRADE PERIOD | DURING MADRID PERIOD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| STUS<br>Vasyl | 10/79-5/80 | Co-opted member | Kiev | | Serving sentence |
| SVITLYCHNA<br>Nadia | 1/77- | Undeclared member, later co-opted | Kiev | Restricted civil liberties | Renounced USSR citizenship; forced to emigrate now in USA |
| VINS<br>Petro | 4/77-2/78 | Co-opted member | Kiev | Serving sentence | Renounced USSR citizenship; forced to emigrate in 1979; now in USA |
| ZISELS<br>Yosyf | /77-12/78 | Correspondent; later co-opted member | Chernivtsi, Ukraine | Active | Serving sentence |

## ADDRESSES OF THE IMPRISONED MEMBERS OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

| Name and Address | Term End |
|---|---|
| 1. Berdnyk, Oles<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-VS<br>USSR | March, 1988 |
| 2. Chornovil, Vyacheslav<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-YaD<br>USSR | August, 1985 |
| 3. Heyko-Matusevych, Olha<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-YuG<br>USSR | March, 1983 |
| 4. Horbal, Mykola<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/IN<br>USSR | October, 1984 |
| 5. Kalynychenko, Vitaliy<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-VS<br>USSR | November, 1994 |
| 6. Kandyba, Ivan<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-VS<br>USSR | March, 1996 |
| 7. Krasivsky, Zinoviy<br>626232, Luhovsko<br>Khanty-Mansijskiy r-n<br>Tumenskaya obl.<br>USSR | November, 1985<br>(Exiled in Siberia) |
| 8. Lesiv, Jaroslav<br>New address expected at end of term | November, 1981 |
| 9. Lukyanenko, Levko<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-VS<br>USSR | December, 1992 |
| 10. Lytvyn, Yuriy<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-YuA<br>USSR | August, 1982 |
| 11. Marynovych, Myroslav<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-U3<br>USSR | April, 1989<br>Transferred from labor camp to Chistopol Prison) |

| Name and Address | Term End |
|---|---|
| 12. Matusevych, Mykola<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-U3<br>USSR | April, 1989<br>(Transferred from labor camp to Chistopol Prison) |
| 13. Meshko, Oksana<br>682080 Ayan<br>Ayano-Mayskiy r-n<br>Chabarovskiy Krai<br>USSR | October, 1985<br>(Exiled near Sea of Japan) |
| 14. Ovsiyenko, Vasyl<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1 YaYa<br>USSR | February, 1982 |
| 15. Popovych, Oksana<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-ZhKh<br>USSR | October, 1987 |
| 16. Rebryk, Bohdan<br>474230 Kenbidaik<br>Kurgaljinskiy r-n<br>Celinogradskaya obl.<br>USSR | May, 1984<br>(Exiled in Kazakhstan) |
| 17. Rev. Romanyuk, Vasyl<br>(wife's address)<br>Antonyuk, Maria<br>285250 Kosiv<br>Ivano-Frankivska obl.<br>Prov. Kobylyanskoyi, 3<br>USSR | (Recently completed full term) |
| 18. Rozumny, Petro<br>Address not available | October, 1982<br>(Unexpectedly released recently for unknown reasons) |
| 19. Rudenko, Mykola<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-ZhKh<br>USSR | February, 1989 |
| 20. Senyk, Iryna<br>489100 Ush-Tobe<br>Karatalskiy r-n<br>Taldy-Kurganskaya obl.<br>USSR | November, 1981<br>(Exiled in Kazakhstan) |
| 21. Shukhevych-Berezynsky, Yuriy<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-U3<br>USSR | March, 1987 |

|  | Name and Address | Term End |
|---|---|---|
| 22. | Shumuk, Danylo<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-VS<br>USSR | January, 1987 |
| 23. | Sichko, Petro<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-UL<br>USSR | July, 1982 |
| 24. | Sichko, Vasyl<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-ECh<br>USSR | July, 1982 |
| 25. | Sokulsky, Ivan<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-VS<br>USSR | April, 1995 |
| 26. | Striltsiv, Vasyl<br>New address expected at end of term | October, 1981 |
| 27. | Stus, Vasyl<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-VS<br>USSR | May, 1995 |
| 28. | Tykhy, Oleksa<br>Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-VS<br>USSR | February, 1992 |
| 29. | Zisels, Yosyf<br>New address expected at end of term | December, 1981 |

"This is not a health resort."
- a typical comment of
lawyers, doctors, supervisors.

# TESTIMONY OF DR. NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKY ON SOVIET LEGISLATION CONCERNING LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AND IMPLEMENTATION OF PENALTIES

## I. ANTI-EXISTENCE AND PUNITIVE SANITATION

According to Soviet law, the accused becomes a prisoner even before he is proven guilty. The preliminary investigation may last from several days to several years.

Those who are accused of political activity are held in detention, for the most part, in investigation-isolation cells of the KGB, that is, in KGB prisons. All those who are accused on other grounds are confined during the preliminary inquiry in special investigation cells in conventional prisons.[1]

Prison cells for those in custody consist of rooms whose locks are always bolted. The grated windows of the cells are located in such a way as to permit the least amount of light possible. An electric light, protected by a wire screen, always shines in a grated niche high over the door. The light is on day and night and is a constant source of irritation to the prisoner, since he cannot shut it off.

The means of heating the cells are various, usually either by wood or by coal, depending on geographical location or on the age of the prison. The fuel is fed into the oven from the corridor, so the prisoner cannot control the rate of heat to his individual needs. The temperature, which is regulated by law, cannot be higher than 18 degrees centigrade and is always lower. Currently in the USSR reconstruction work on the original heating systems is underway, and steam or water heating systems, instead of the traditional stoves, are being built heating systems, instead of the traditional stoves, are being built in the prisons.

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[1] In specialized literature one finds the term "investigation prison" in contrast to the "regime prison" for those sentenced to prison terms.

The sanitation provided for the prisoners is unique, inasmuch as in the prison cells of the USSR, and in an era of space exploration, the use of the parasha has survived. This is a cylindrical metal bucket with or without a top. The parasha is designed to serve the function of a septic system in the civilized world: it collects urine and excrement. But washing also takes place over the parasha, as well as certain other activities of female hygiene. The parasha is the destination of a pregnant female prisoner when she is nauseous. A nursing mother milks her breasts into the parasha when her arrest has separated her from her infant. With all its varied contents the parasha remains in the cell twenty-four hours a day. Twice a day, before breakfast and before supper, a prisoner is taken to the collecting tank where the contents of the parasha can be emptied. In order to keep his toilet articles clean, the prisoner is given some water. Sometimes a disinfectant is distributed for this purpose and sometimes a handful of dry chloric lime for sprinkling the bottom of the parasha.

The present reconstruction of the penal system of the USSR has been crowned by the appearance of cells outfitted with water and sewer systems. But there is still nothing resembling the toilets of European or American prisons. Instead there are primitive latrines that provide no comfortable support for the body during defecation. That is why a person, trying to assume a convenient position, often finds himself in the role of an "inaccurate marksman". The prisoner does not always have enough water to leave the place, assigned for his torments during defecation, clean. Other prisoners sharing the cell can complain about dirtying the toilet, and the guard can initiate charges about violating the rules. For these reasons, and after having some experience with the prison toilet, men and women force themselves to satisfy their bodily needs, not in the cell and when necessary, but whenever the right opportunities arise - during exits from the cell before breakfast and supper or during exercise periods. The result of such "training" is a high incidence of hemorrhoids, which can be regarded as the most common prisoners' disease, since the shortcomings of the sanitation system are the same in the investigation cells and in the prisons and camps in which confinement takes place after sentencing. No illness, including various ailments of the digestive system, can exempt a prisoner from the discomforts associated with the natural functions of the body.

The investigation cells are always crowded, and the size of the cell does not meet even minimum standards for a person's air and living space. The primitive and faulty heating, ventilation, and sewer systems, and the crowding of large numbers of persons in close quarters result in that distinctive and traditional prison atmosphere saturated with the stench of mold,cement, and urine, the exhalations of the body, and a spirit of hostility.

Conditions may be somewhat different in the investigation-isolation cells of the KGB, mainly because the accused is kept as isclated as possible. No more than two or three persons occupy the KGB cells, whereas the same cells for other categories of prisoners are occupied by ten times as many persons. Perhaps this contrast is the origin of the illusion about the improved conditions of the KGB prisons, which are supposed to serve as a proud example of post-Stalinist humanization. True, one can see a few other innovations. For example, in the investigation cells of a conventional prison the accused sleeps during the whole investigation period, not on a bed, but on a wooden podium made for a limited number of persons who can lie on it (or, very often, under it), tightly pressed against one another. These are called nary, an old invention of the penal system of pre-revolutionary Russia. In the investigation-isolation cells of the KGB the use of the nary has been discontinued; instead, there are stangely constructed beds. Metal rods are placed across an almost normal bed and on them a mattress-sack, loosely stuffed with rags or synthetic cotton wads. The bed is so made that the mattress sags in those places not supported by the metal frame. When the prisoner lies on the bed, his body sags in the same places. No exception is made even for sick or pregnant women.

The daily hygiene is limited to washing one's hands and face; the rest of body may be washed once every ten days. Every month on the tenth, twentieth, and thirtieth, there is a "sanitary day" in the prisons of the USSR. Thousands of men and women who find themselves in the ranks of accused citizens go to take a lukewarm shower. Depending on the number of persons, the length of one's stay in the warm-water facility lasts from twenty to forty minutes. During this time women try to wash some of their underclothes, but a problem arises as to how to dry them. This problem is ignored because, after all, everything will eventually dry out. The "sanitary day" is the only clean day during one's investigation confinement. In the KGB investigation cells in Kiev, Odessa, and Ivano-Frankivsk women may wash what laundry they have in time free from interrogation, not during "sanitary day", and they can dry their wash outside the cell. If the prison administration allows the prisoners to have bed sheets, then prisoners can change their beds on "sanitary day", that is, once every ten days.

For their monthly needs women have only whatever they can borrow from one another or whatever they receive in *peredachi* from their relatives.[2] If a woman has no relatives who are able to care for her during the investigation, then she will have nothing. In individual instances the investigator or the head of the investigation-isolation cells agrees to obtain the necessary articles for a woman's monthly hygiene. Prison doctors, as a rule, provide no care. Sometimes a doctor will offer a woman a few crystals of potassium permanganate.

The violation of the principle of human dignity condemns millions of prisoners in the USSR to drag out their existence under inhuman conditions. Soviet legislators compensate for the vileness of daily life in investigation-isolation cells in a very peculiar way. The penal code of the Soviet system of justice provides for a daily *exercise period* for all confined persons. The *exercise period* takes place in filthy and smelly yards with cement floors, cement walls, and wires overhead between the walls (a "grated sky"). Sometimes there are half-opened privies in the yard, so that exercise in fresh air is, for the most part, a continued coexistence with the toilet. The duration of the *exercise period* is one hour out of twenty-four; for women with infants it is two hours, which may be taken in two parts during daylight hours. (The child of an incarcerated mother is a separate problem and not considered here.)

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[2] A *peredacha* is a typical example of prison jargon (official and unofficial). It is a package weighing five kilograms which the prisoner may receive once a month (but only until the time that the sentence becomes legally enforcible). Because of poor rations, relatives send food *peredachi* to which have been added necessary clothing and toilet articles. The rules governing prison rations will be detailed in another article.

All interrogators are well informed about the daily life of those under investigation. The whole gamut of uncomfortable, unhygienic, and unsanitary conditions is used by the interrogator as a means of influencing and molding a person's behavior during the pre-trial investigation. The incarcerated person gradually loses his former conceptions of the stability of the outside world and of individual values. The only source of even the most minimal information (often deliberately distorted) is the interrogator, who has the power to permit or withhold the following:

--food parcels (Prison diet is regulated and substandard);

--necessities for female hygiene (The law has not foreseen the need to guarantee access to these);

--interesting books (Prison and camp libraries consist mostly of propaganda and didactic literature).

--to see a doctor or even one's relatives (These encounters almost never are permitted, the reason being "priority of investigative interests").

The procedural and actual standards created by the theory and practice of the investigative organs of the USSR have given the interrogator physical and psychological power over the accused.

After the end of the pre-trial investigation comes the procedure of being informed about the details of one's case and, afterward, a period of inactivity and waiting. This period lasts from one to two months, because the judges, overburdened with court cases, are not able to carry out the directives of the law to speedily process cases which have passed the pre-trial period. Here the judges are assisted by public prosecutors, who carry out the weakly-worded regulations about shortening the interval between the pre-trial investigation and the start of the court hearing. Such legal procedures in the USSR result in a person's remaining under inhuman conditions of a pre-trial investigation even when such an investigation has ended. The presumption of innocence, ignored in all the laws of the USSR, protects no one from punishment in the investigation-isolation cells.

Courtrooms are never located near the pre-investigation prisons (a fact supposedly symbolizing the idea of the "independence" of the courts in the USSR). The accused must be driven from the prison to the court building and back again. The means of transportation for this purpose has been given by the prisoners a traditional and original name, "raven" (voronok). A voronok (or avtozak in bureaucratic slang)[3] is a rebuilt van without any windows or ventilation. Inside are a few isolated compartments called boxes. Every box is isolated by means of steel walls and a tightly closed steel door. Every voronok has two boxes for transporting those who are to be tried for political or religious activities. It is impossible for a prisoner to stand in a box, but when he tries to sit down, the construction of the box transforms his body into a broken figure on three planes: a horizontal plane from feet to knees, a vertical plane from knees to hips, and another horizontal plane from hips to shoulders. The head swivels on the dislocated axis of the body as the wretched vehicle speeds over the poorly constructed streets. It may happen that a voronok is carrying a woman and her child; she tries to protect her child from injury in spite of the whims of the designers of such means of prisoner transport. Groans, screams, curses, and justly abusive words cannot penetrate through the acoustical barrier of the voronka, which drives through city streets with "bread" or "milk" written on its outside. Because of such signs the voronok-avtozak never becomes an object of interest to passers-by. Only the experienced eye of a former prisoner can accurately discern it from among the many other types of modern vehicles. A voronok never unloads its human cargo near the main entrance to the court; it enters through a courtyard that seems to be unconnected to the building that houses the courtroom. Those who are to be tried for religious or political and ideological motives are especially well hidden from the court entrance.

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[3] Avtozak is an untranslatable word because its second part comes from the abbreviation of the Russian word for prisoner, zaklyuchenniy.

The court session may last anywhere from two to six hours. During this time the head of the court may announce a ten minute break. The break can be used for a snack, smoke, coffee, a visit to the toilet, or anything else--but only by the members of the court or the guards, who take turns waiting for their break. The accused remains in the courtroom during the break or is led into a mini-cell, called a box or otstoynik[4]. Sometimes the judge allows the guards to take the accused to the toilet. If the accused is ready to admit his guilt or to testify in such a way so as not to wreck the version of the previous investigation, then he may be allowed to smoke during the break. Sometimes the accused succeeds in getting permission for a little water. If the accused is a woman with her baby and the baby begins to cry, then a break is also announced, and the judges and the public leave the courtroom (that is, if the proceedings are open to the public). The public is asked to leave so as to prevent any excesses that might arise under the influence of the baby's crying. Sometimes the accused faints; then a break is also announced. The prison doctor may be summoned in such cases. When the accused regains consciousness, the court proceeds with its work. It happens that sometimes the accused is carried into the courtroom on a stretcher. And sometimes he is carried out on a stretcher.

When the court session ends, the organizers of the proceedings wait until the public leaves and then take out the accused in the same way that he was brought in, secretly, through the gates of the adjacent yard. If the court has not handed down a favorable ruling (and a favorable ruling is almost nonexistent in political or religious cases), the accused is returned to the same conditions under which he lived during the pre-trial investigation. Now he will wait in a cell until the sentence takes effect. The length of his wait depends on the length of the appeal (if such an appeal takes place). A pregnant woman or a woman and her baby remain on the same cell regime as before the trial. The review of a case under appeal does not require that the accused be transported anywhere because his presence, according to Soviet law, is not necessary.

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[4] Otstoynik is a Russian word as are all expressions concerning prison life. It denotes a space in which it is only possible to stand. The more refined word box is used in beaurocratic jargon.

When the sentence takes effect, the accused is taken to the place where he will serve his prison term. The place of confinement of those who are charged with political or religious acts is determined by Moscow, regardless of the "sovereign" republic in which the trial took place.

The means of transportation depends on the distance between the investigation prison and the place where the sentence is to be served. Trains are used the most. The accused is taken to the station in a voronok. At the station the voronok is backed up as closely as possible to a special "Stolypin wagon". This wagon is joined to the other wagons in the train only when all the prisoners are moved from the voronok to the "Stolypin wagon". A Stolypin wagon is a rebuilt passenger wagon (a vahonzak)[5]. As a result of its special construction, this wagon has windows only on one side. The windows are covered by a metal grill and the panes are opaque and unwashed. On the windowless side are compartment-cells. The doors of the compartments are heavily barred, and between the doors and the walls that have windows is a narrow corridor for the guards. The compartment-cells have the following layout: on the left and right are two benches; above them are plank "beds" with the middle board somewhat shorter than the rest so that one can lift oneself to the "second floor" of the compartment. In some compartment-cells there is a third level which has benches on the left and right, similar to the arrangement on the floor level. Some compartments of the vahonzak are divided into two parts. The compartment-cells can accommodate four to eight reclining persons; it is possible to sit--bent over--only on the benches at floor level. All beds are nothing more than bare planks.

The number of prisoners transported in these compartment-cells is usually more than eight, sometimes even twenty. Only those who are sentenced for religious or political acts are transported by ones or twos in the compartment-cells. As happens during the investigation and the trial, such "comforts" arise only as a result of the isolation of "especially dangerous state criminals".

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[5] Vahonzak, like avtozak, cannot be translated because the second part of the word comes from an abbreviation of the Russian word for prisoner, zaklyuchenniy.

The Stolypin wagons are coupled to a regular passenger train always on a prescribed route that takes them to "transit prisons". These fixed routes for transporting prisoners are called an etap. The etap sometimes takes a prisoner far from the normal train route, since it is not possible to arrive at a transit prison from just any train station. The length of an etap, which circles all the stations having transit prisons, is measured by the prisoners not according to the length but according to time. Thus an etap from Odessa to Mordovia may have a "length" of one month, while the length of an etap from Moscow to Mordovia may be one week, even though a passenger train from Moscow to Mordovia may take only about twelve to fourteen hours.

The food on an etap consists of "dry rations" which the accused receives before the route begins. Dry rations consist of 600 grams of bread per person, one herring (average size, entrails intact), and sugar (a symbolic sprinkling, barely amounting to one teaspoonful). Water is provided by the guards on the Stolypin wagons, not as it is needed but by rule. Cool drinking water is available every four or five hours during the day. Having eaten the bread and herring, thirsty prisoners become the victims of a cruel system of rules and of the arbitrariness of the guards, who feel no obligation to give the prisoners water beyond what is specified by the rules. The guards on the etap have their meals prepared in a wagon outfitted like a mini-restaurant. The aroma from the properly prepared food travels beyond the compartment-restaurant to the compartment-cells packed with hungry and thirsty people.

During the etap one may use the toilet only three times during the day. The toilet on a Stolypin wagon is exactly like a toilet on a regular passenger train; however, the toilet never has any water because the platform at which the wagons stop are far removed from human sight and from water sources used in "normal" train coaches. Because of the lack of water, the toilet bowls on Stolypin wagons are transformed into a mass of excrement. In the winter this mass freezes, and the regular use of the toilet becomes practically impossible. Toilet paper, as an invariable rule, is not available on an etap. Nothing can be used in its place because no one is allowed to have paper of any kind--that would pose the danger of gathering, retaining, and distributing information! The toilet is meant only for defecation and urination; washing the body--even one's hands--is not provided for on an etap.

The prisoners are led out of the wagons only at the end of an etap at a transit prison. They are taken there in a voronok. In the transit prison (peresylka) the prisoners are not assigned a cell immediately because the distribution of the newly-arrived prisoners proceeds according to a complicated system that takes into consideration the reason for imprisonment, the route of the prisoner, and many other weighty government considerations. Until the prisoners are alloted their places, they are kept in small groups in cells without toilets, otstoyniky. In some transit prisons (Ryazan, for example) there is a parasha in the otstoynik. The prison has a primitive lavatory where one is given a piece of soap and a little hot water. After the lavatory period the guards take the prisoners to their cells. (No matter how long the prisoner should remain in the transit prison afterward, he will not be allowed to use the lavatory again.)

During the first day in the peresylka one gets an almost unlimited quantity of hot drinking water, as well as 600 grams of bread and plenty of salt. On the next day, when the newly-arrived prisoners are registered, hot food is served and there is one hour of exercise.

The peresylka always holds more persons than would normally be the case if someone cared for the prisoners' elementary living conditions. The cells of the transit prison are just like the investigation-isolation cells; nevertheless, all those who have been in the present Gulag Archipelago agree that the peresylka is paradise compared with the hell of the etap (though there are fleas and mites in that paradise).

There are doctors in the transit prisons; however, no prisoner can explain why they are there. Some women say that, on a doctor's orders, they can receive two or three rags (to take the place of tampons). In the large peresylka in Moscow (on the Krasnaya Presnya) doctors check the newly-arrived prisoners for fleas, and, looking for external signs of venereal disease, inspect the genital organs of the prisoners, superficially and with disgust.

Having gone through two or three etapy and as many peresylky (sometimes lasting two or three months), the accused finally arrives at his destination--the prison or concentration camp. It should not be forgotten that in contemporary Soviet usage these "archaic" terms have been replaced by a new name, "uchrezhdyenye."[6] Only legal texts now openly mention prisons. In such texts one can also find the phrase "corrective-labor colony". This is the modern name for an institution that is simply a concentration camp. In this system of terminology one can also find a name for concentration camps for minors--"educational-labor colony" of a general or strengthened regimen.

The type of regimen assigned to a prisoner is determined at sentencing.

Those who are sentenced for the first time for religious or ideological and political reasons are almost always sent to concentration labor camps of strict regimen. Those sentenced a second time are sent to special prisons infamously known as "Re-educational labor colonies of strict regimen". The choice of regimen is up to the courts, who are not obliged to take into account the health, sex or age of the prisoner.

In the regime prison the standard of life would be the same as in the investigation prisons if it were not for a new factor--forced labor. The size of the living quarters in which one serves one's sentence is larger than that of the investigation cells. These cells, however, may serve as the prisoner's work area (as in Vladimir and in other prisons, for example). The prisoners jokingly refer to their living-work areas as "USSR," an acronym for Russian sleep, room, board, and work.

Prisoners are forbidden to hang up or display photographs or postcards. Only books published in the USSR are allowed. A prisoner may have five books at a time. All religious literature is forbidden. One is allowed to keep letters that have been approved by the censor, yet such letters may be confiscated during unannounced cell searches.

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[6] The English equivalent is institution.

Before or after work the prisoners are taken out for *exercise* in the prison yard, which appears exactly as was described before. The length of the *exercise period* is one hour every day.

*In the concentration camps* prisoners live in buildings that have retained their old names, along with the whole Russian system of repression--*barracks*. Names of a later origin have also been retained and used ("living area" or simply "area" from the Lenin-Stalin era). The actual living area in a barrack can be described as follows: a space with a prisoner's bed, separated from other prisoners' beds by a tall dresser (*tumbochka*) fifty centimeters wide. The law allows double beds.

The windows of the barracks have no bars. From the barracks one steps out into a yard surrounded by fences and wire. Over the fences is a network of hightension wires. The area between the wire enclosure and the fence is the "prohibited zone" (*zapretka*). The regular plowing of this area is one of the compulsory and humiliating tasks of the prisoners.

The heating system in the prisons and concentration camps is the same as in the investigation cells--faulty and primitive wood and coal stoves or, in some "*institutions*," water or steam heating systems. Toilet facilities with running water are becoming more common in "*institutions*" of the present Gulag Archipelago. Where there are no such facilities, one can still see, in camp yards, wooden structures, primitive lavatories for two to three persons, before which there is always a long line of prisoners, night and day, winter and summer, waiting for their turn in the toilet.

In the camps and prisons where one's sentence is served, one is permitted a mattress, a pillow, a cotton blanket, and two bedsheets.[7] All clothes and bedding may be washed only by specially designated persons who do such work for others. The work in prison laundries is almost wholly unmechanized; the washing in most of the "institutions" is done by hand on washboards and with a foul-smelling soap instead of detergents. Because of such primitive methods, the resulting wash does not look particularly clean, although the dirt is removed. Newly washed laundry is especially depressing to women prisoners.

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[7] In the Sosnovka concentration camp (Mordovia, camp 385/1-6) prisoners were allowed only one bedsheet. In 1979 the prisoners' families sent parcels with bedsheets, but all the parcels were returned with an order by Major Nekrasov forbidding such mailings.

*Women's "facilities"* in the camps consist of rooms for female hygiene, but only in a women's political camp (for example, in Barashevo in Mordovia) can a woman have a basin for her individual toilet needs.

In the prison and camp "facilities" one can bathe one's whole body once every seven days. This procedure takes place at different times in different "institutions," since the poor condition of the sanitation facilities is not the same everywhere. A great deal of space in the primitive bathrooms is taken up by a large stove that has an open pot for hot water cemented into it. On the side is a trough with cold water. Basins are placed on a wooden bench and are used by prisoners to wash themselves. In "institutions" with many prisoners there is sometimes a lack of cold or hot water or both.

Cells, barracks, lavatories, and workshops are cleaned by prisoners by turn or by "dnewvalny,"[8] invalids who are unable to work in prison-camp shops. The prisoners assigned to cleaning duty also carry in hot and cold water in buckets, since in almost all "institutions" the water pipes do not extend to the prisoners' living quarters.

The workshops of all "institutions" generally lack any adequate system of ventilation. There are no safeguards against job injuries. Machinery and equipment are out-of-date, and contact with them elicits in an educated person an aversion to work, especially work that is mandatory.

*The system of punishment* provided for by corrective-labor legislation concerns itself first of all with failure to fulfill the excessive work quotas, but also with the following: participation in protest actions (including written complaints), wearing a cross on one's neck, observances of national or religious traditions, and attempts to lie down during the day without a doctor's permission. In addition to depriving the prisoner of his right to supplementary food rations--a parcel from his parents or purchase of food with one's earnings (!)--the prisoner may also be deprived of the visit of his family. Withdrawal of visiting privileges is a serious factor in the constant psychological pressure exerted on the prisoner.

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[8] The English equivalent is *orderlies*.

The cruellest punishment is confinement in the SHIZO[9] or the PKT.[10] As regards sanitary and hygienic conditions, the SHIZO and PKT guarantee that the prisoner will be subjected to the full extent of an inhuman sanitation system, the cardinal feature of which is the parasha. Those punished in the SHIZO or PKT find themselves in a protracted stressful situation, isolated and lacking information and all meaningful activity. And all this in addition to forced labor on an inadequate diet (900-1400 calories daily).

Imprisonment under any conditions creates sexual restrictions, because even the lightest of prison regimens, the general camp regimen, allows only three visits a year (and only if there has been no "violation" of the regimen and if the marriage is properly registered). Millions of prisoners in the USSR supply the country not only with a cheap labor force but also with a contingent of sexual deviates who, after finishing their sentences, bring their sexual problem among the general population. In this way the number of sexual deviates grows and leads, in turn, to an increase in the number of prisoners, since sexual perversion is a criminal offense in the USSR.

During the whole cycle of prison and camp punishment, the prisoner remains in a micro-climate of unfavorable and traumatic psychological states. The lack of privacy makes a prisoner susceptible to factors that always arise in an isolated and chance aggregate of human beings. The prisoner of conscience is severely traumatized, often because of the fact that the "institutional" administration purposely disregards the difference in ethical standards between prisoners of conscience and ordinary criminals. Forced labor and the loss of one's professional bearings during prolonged incarceration strongly influence a prisoner's personality.

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[9] SHIZO is an abbreviation for "punitive isolation cells." A prisoner may be confined in a SHIZO anywhere from three to forty or fifty days.

[10] PKT is an abbreviation (and an example of disinformation) of "cell-type premises." A prisoner may be confined in the PKT from one to six months.

Religion (missionary literature, clergymen) cannot be of aid to the prisoner because the laws of the atheistic USSR forbid any sort of spiritual or religious assistance being offered to the sick or the imprisoned, that is, those who are most in need of it.

Reactionary complexes, neurotic, aggressive and self-aggressive tendencies in a prisoner's behavior are treated by the prison and camp administration as symptoms of inveterate criminality. Thus, those traumatized by inadequate psychological and living comforts are in addition punished as violators of the norms of the reglementary regime. Part of the system of punishment also consists of confinement in psychiatric prisons but this is a subject that comes under the general theme of the misuse of psychiatry in the USSR.

## Conclusions

It cannot be denied that the prolonged confinement of prisoners under conditions created in the USSR leaves physical and spiritual scars.

Lengthy periods of imprisonment for religious or political and ideological convictions constitute a deliberate program of destruction of a person's professional and intellectual skills.

The unsanitary conditions of a prisoner's daily existence--directed against the prisoner's mind, body, and spirit--are an indisputable proof of the use of torture in the USSR.

## II. CLOTHING: A STANDARD OF DISCOMFORT AND DEGRADATION

Standardizing prisoners' clothes is an old tradition of penal systems. In the USSR this standardization is meant to mold the prisoner's behavior and to torment him.

A female prisoner's cotton dress is a dingy gray or a dark chestnut color. Against this background, stripes, shaped like prison bars, and a shapeless dress style results in a depressing effect. By regulation the length of a woman's prison dress, for the duration of the term, is the same for all four seasons of the year: not lower nor higher than the knees.

Articles of underclothing, such as a slip, are made of a primitive cotton fabric which quickly loses its original color because there is no opportunity for regular washing in prison.

Stockings are thick. Warm socks, knee-socks, and leggings are permitted. However, women who have not fulfilled the work norms ("violated the rules of the regime") and have been sent to a punitive isolator (Shizo), are denied these socks as yet additional punishment.

For winter work outside the prisoners' living quarters and for exercise periods during the cold season, both male and female prisoners have short quilted coats made of black cotton. These are paltry jackets without collars (tilohriyka) or pea-jackets, which are somewhat longer than a jacket and have a black collar (bushlat).

Dresses and coats are labeled on the chest with the prisoner's name, the section of the criminal code according to which she has been sentenced, and the length of her term.

Whether wearing a coat or without one, the female prisoner of the GULAG is a sexless being. She wears heavy, black, very thick leather men's shoes. Sometimes the camp administration does not even have this kind of footwear available for the prisoners. Then the women are given boots also black, thick and heavy and again, very similar to men's boots. The size of the various footwear is rarely correct, making the shoes very uncomfortable. However, removal of these cumbersome and uncomfortable boots or shoes during work or exercise periods is forbidden. The rules permit the wearing of slippers only during non-working periods and only in the living quarters of the camp or prison.

The current regime rules state that a female prisoner's hair must be covered with a scarf. The scarf may be white or any other plain color. Only cotton scarves are permitted. Scarves of silk, delicate wool, or modern synthetic materials are strictly forbidden. For winter, the regulations allow thick black or gray scarves made of dress scraps. However, these too are denied to the prisoner who is sent to the punitive isolator.

The female prisoner must buy all of her clothes with the meager wages that she earns at forced labor. Twice a year she is permitted to receive banderoles which can contain gloves, socks, or other small items. (Banderoles are small packages which may not weigh more than one kilogram.) The gloves, as well as all other articles of clothing, may not be too colorful or elegant.

Sometimes during a personal visit,[11] women prisoners exchange underclothes with their family visitor. Preparing for such exchanges, the visitor puts on two pairs of underclothing with the hope that the guard will not notice that the prisoner after the visit is wearing a new slip under her prison dress. But the current criminal regulations have foreseen such exchanges, and now the woman who is about to have a personal visit is forced by the guard to change into a special suit of clothes ("control suit") which is to be returned to the same guard after the visit. Even before entering the room for the visit, the prisoner must give her jacket (or pea-jacket) and shoes or boots to the guard because resourceful prisoners can turn these items into hiding places for information.

Clothes for enclosed living quarters are the same throughout the year, even though the temperature in prison and camp buildings fluctuates because of fuel shortages and the absence of thermostat controls. A PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE IS SUBJECTED TO TORTURE BY COLD. The climate is severe in most of the regions in which the prisons and concentration camps of the USSR are located.

Often, while working in the sewing workshops, women secretly sew waste pieces of material into the sleeves or on the back of a garment in order to make the clothing warmer. Such actions are severely punished.

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[11] During personal visits the prisoner is left alone with members of his family. During such visits no more than three persons (including children) may remain with the prisoners. The law allows no more than three or four such visits for those who are serving their sentences in the camps. In severe regime camps only one personal visit is allowed per year. There are no "personal visits" in the prisons. Those who are sentenced for religious, political, or ideological convictions are sent to prisons or camps of severe regime. It can be stated that, in fact, a prisoner of conscience is deprived of all intimate contact with his family.

It is almost constantly cold at night. For bed coverings during the night, the prisoner gets one bed sheet and a cotton blanket. Therefore, older and sick women often sleep in their day clothes. For this they are punished in the same way as for "violation of the regime."

In 1977, in the Mordovian Women's Concentration Camp No. 385/3-4, a thorough "purge" took place. All unauthorized articles of clothing were confiscated. During this purge, all extra bed coverings were also confiscated so that a prisoner would not be able to cover herself with two blankets rather than the one which is permitted by the rules. (Occasionally bed coverings, clothes and other items are left behind by prisoners who have been freed.)

Women as well as men try to improve at least the appearance of their clothes by trying to fit them to their individual sizes. These attempted alterations, at least for a short time, improve the prisoner's general state of mind. Nothing, however, can ultimately change the mood of those who are well aware of the contrast between the guards' well-tailored uniforms and the shabby garb of the imprisoned men and women. Dressed in her prison garb, a prisoner is DEGRADED and STRIPPED OF ALL HUMAN DIGNITY. Nevertheless, the problem of PRISON CLOTHING is not one of aesthetics or social prestige. Clothing has always had the function of protecting the human body and man has always worn clothing in accordance with the needs of the human body (...a fact which itself is an uncomfortable CLOTHING FOR THE SOUL).

The regulations of the means for protecting the body is an assault on the constant need of man to preserve his identity.

THE REGULATION OF CLOTHING FOR PRISONERS IN THE USSR IS A COVERT FACTOR OF DISTRUCTION OF THE PRISONER CHRONICALLY AFFECTING THE BODY AND SOUL OF A HUMAN BEING.

# TESTIMONY OF DR. NINA STROKATA - KARAVANSKY

## ON HANNA MYKHAYLENKO

## UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONER SINCE 1980

The Ukrainian patriots of Odessa knew well that Hanna Mykhaylenko was always waiting for those who needed help.

If someone in the small Ukrainian community of Odessa had a guest who was being carefully watched by the KGB, such a guest was all the more welcomed by Hanna. Hanna's friends also knew that her audacious stubborness was of help whenever it was necessary to keep the persecutors away from one's living quarters. Gradually her home in Odessa became a center of Ukrainian life. It was because of her hospitality that a place was found for the audience of art expert Vasyl Barladyanu's seminars. (Information about him will appear later in a separate installment.)

Hanna's friends also knew that she was always ready to share her meager ~~earnings~~ she earned as a librarian with those who lacked even that.

Hanna's skillful pen was often helpful when, under conditions of escalating repression, someone was always needing to be defended. The list of those whom this physically very weak woman defended was a long one and included the Siryj family, the lone and continuously repressed Leonid Tymchuk, and the author of this article during her difficult post-camp period. Yet the most important of Hanna's characteristic traits was in her steadfastness to the principle that a Ukrainian on Ukrainian soil should speak only in Ukrainian.

In a russified Odessa, Hanna was an example to those who, exhausted by their immersion in a foreign language environment, had no strength to defend the Ukrainian language.

Working in the library of Odessa School No. 1, Hanna tried to see that every child left the library with a Ukrainian book to take home.

Thus, Hanna was characterized by a complex of related traits by which the KGB is able to identify a Ukrainian patriot and, having identified him to treat him like a Ukrainian nationalist.

It is difficult to remember when Hanna's home was first searched, whether in 1970 or perhaps a year later. She was harassed by the KGB for at least ten years. By means of unfounded searches and interrogations, the KGB attempted to frighten her into giving up her participation in the current rebirth of Ukrainian public life.

Criminal charges were begun to be fabricated against Hanna in 1977. According to the laws of the USSR, the administration of the institution in which the accused works submits to the court a character descrption of the accused In the USSR such a description is traditionally written in Russian. In the Russian text describing Hanna among other accounts of her is the following:

Working in a school, Hanna Mykhaylenko demanded that too much attention be given to the Ukrainian language.

With such a unique characterization, Hanna Mykhaylenko prepared to stand trial in the Autumn of 1977. But that year an amnesty was declared on the occasion of the sixty year anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. This amnesty granted freedom to those accused on the basis of the criminal code sections. The charges against Hanna Mykhaylenko were dropped. In 1979, however, new charges were fabricated against her: her resistance to Russian chauvinists and her attempts to defend her national dignity were treated as acts of hooliganism. Thus, in 1979, the Odessa court had before it the case of a Ukrainian patriot accused of hooliganism. The court obliged Hanna to pay 20 percent of her monthly salary during the course of one and a half years. Hanna, however, had lost her job as school librarian after the first criminal charges were brought against her, even though she had not been tried. She was not fit for physical labor. (She suffers from asthma and has a heart condition). The judge had seen reports about Hanna's state of health but nevertheless, handed down a sentence that forced her to manual labor. Such a sentence created the conditions for further harassment -- for (idleness) or for failure to pay the monthly fine. No one whom Hanna had once helped was able to help her, since according to Soviet laws court fines can be paid only from money earned by the guilty person after his sentence. In order that those who are fined by the court are not able to avail themselves of others' aid, a procedure of payments is instituted that excludes such a possibility: the guilty person does not pay the fine himself but has it paid for him by the administration of the institution at which he works.

The year 1977 was an active one for the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and one in which repressions against the Group begain to intensify. Hanna was one of those Ukrainians who supported the Group. The groundless arrests of Group members took place along with simultaneous repressions against potential members.

The repressions against Hanna Mykhaylenko from 1977 to 1979 turned out to be a prelude to the most cruel of punishments.

She was arrested in February, 1980. We know now that in September of that year she was undergoing psychiatric tests in the Serbsky Institute in Moscow. In November, 1980, on the same day that the Madrid Conference began its work, Hanna's trial began in Odessa. This trial sent her to a psychiatric prison-hospital. Ukrainians in the free world who were in Madrid at this time announced a hunger strike and organized a press conference during which they distributed information about the insolent repressive actions in Odessa. In March, 1981, a protest action on Hanna's behalf organized by Ukrainians from Washington and Baltimore took place before the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

No information about Hanna has been available since her trial in Odessa.

Biographical profile:

HANNA MYKHAYLENKO - Born 1925
Teacher and librarian
Ukrainian
Religion - Ukrainian Catholic
Single

Hanna Mykhaylenko was adopted by the Italian section of Amnesty International in Rome.

Hanna's Prison Address:

HANNA MYKHAYLENKO
Strelechne
Derhachivskiy R-n
Kharkivska Obl.
Oblasna Psychiatrychna Likarnia
USSR

Sentence does not reveal length of term.

# TESTIMONY OF DR. NINA STROKATA - KARAVANSKY

# ON VASYL BARLADYANU

# UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONER SINCE 1977

"To judge Barladyanu is to put on trial the mind which searches for truth." (from a testimony in defense of Vasyl Barladyanu).

After having completed the University of Odessa, Vasyl Barladyanu became a popular lecturer at this university at the beginning of the seventies. Students working on thesis in the "Kabinet" of Fine Arts at the university were drawn to the lecturer's bold ideas and wide perspective of the world. He used modern teaching methods and frequently referred to sources of clandestine literature. This was unheard of for the students as well as for the "observers" of education.

Vasyl Barladyanu was a member of the communist party.

His first conflict with the university administration was in 1974, which resulted in his expulsion from the ranks of the party. For the first time the word "nationalist" was applied to him. However, the references were as yet unclear. The question being:

what kind of nationalist - Ukrainian, Rumanian, or possibly Bulgarian? (Barladyanu was an enthusiast of ancient Bulgarian literature.) Regardless of the type of Nationalist he might have been, he was forced to leave his scholarly and teaching pursuits at the university.

In 1975, he began a job at a museum in Kiev, but after a month he was dismissed from this position and denied permission to live in Kiev. When he returned to Odessa for a long time he could not receive a "propyska".[1] Eventually, he received a "propyska" for one of the villages near Odessa. After some time Vasyl found a job at the Martime Institute of Odessa. At the Institute he organized a series of lectures which were far removed from the concerns of this institution. These were lectures on esthetics. But with the stigma of "nationalist" he could not long be left to influence students minds.

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[1] "propyska" - a formal procedure in the USSR without which it is impossible to settle in any village or city. The "propyska" is marked into the internal passport of every citizen of the USSR by the police.

In 1976, Barladyanu's appeal "To The Christian World" appeared in the West. Having lost his position as a lecturer, Barladyanu again attempted to work in a museum, the Museum of Eastern and Western Art in Odessa. At the same time he began to write both for himself and for the "samuydav". The Ukrainian "samuydav" quickly accepted his writings because his were thoughts on the preservation of the history of Ukrainian culture from the falsification of the russification process and essays on the creativity of imprisoned poets.

In December of 1976, Barladyanu met Mykola Rudenko who had already co-founded and was the head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Shortly afterward Rudenko was arrested and tried. Among the materials presented in evidence against him were writings of Barladyanu which he had given to the Group.

Barladyanu's renouncement of his USSR citizenship in 1976 was the official cause of dismissal from his job at the museum.

Barladyanu is a person who cannot live without creative work. This is why he began his attempt to emigrate from the USSR where in fact there exists an unwritten law against the right to a profession. He did not waste time while waiting for permission to emigrate. He organized a seminar for dissidents of Odessa on the issues of the arts in Ukraine.

In March of 1977, V. Barladyanu was arrested. That same year statements of participants of the seminars reached the West by means of the "samuydav". Because of the activity of people such as Anna Holumbievska, Hanna Mykhaylenko, Leonid and Valentina Siryj, Leonid Tymchuk and others were in the West learned that Barladyanu began a hunger strike on the day of his arrest which he continued until the end of his trial. We also learned that he was threatened with psychiatric torture and was subjected to physical torture.

Witnesses at his trial included his former students, the director of the Chair of Marxist - Leninist philosophy, his father-in-law, and his former advisor for his dissertation. These were all witnesses for the prosecution. No defense witnesses were called to testify. Before the start of the trial his lawyer tried to persuade him to admit his guilt and to recant.

In June 1977, Vasyl Barladyanu was sentenced to 3 years in an ordinary regime camp. He began his sentence in a camp for common criminals in the Rivensky Region.

Prisoners in this region work in stone quarries. The work is heavy manual labor and is extremely exhausting. After four months on a hunger ~~strike~~ Barladyanu did not have strength for this kind of work. Although he was not officially required to perform this work, he was forced to fulfill the work norms demanded of all prisoners. Barladyanu, exhausted by his hunger strike received additional punishments time and again.

Barladyanu's wife Valentina started an intensive campaign on his behalf. Because of her demanding interventions Vasyl was transferred to a hospital. But it turns out that he was sent to a psychiatric hospital. New dangers of psychiatric torture arose. His wife did not want to remain a passive witness to the coming dangers. Direct steps were begun against her. The KGB convinced her parents that they should intervene in the "criminal" activities of their daughter.

One day in the summer of 1978 Vasyl and Valentina's daughter was sitting in a room near a window when someone threw a rock at the pane. Attacks, such as this, by "hooligans" had already become the normal "warning" to those who are too active. Valentina's parents moved into her apartment and turned her life into a hell with their "preventive" concerns.

Time passed; Barladyanu's sentence was nearing completion.

In the first part of March 1980, Barladyanu's friends from Odessa traveled to the camp from which he was to be released. However, he was not released at the completion of his term. On February 29, new charges were brought against him and he was taken to an investigative prison in Rivne. There charges were fabricated against him:

> for seminars on esthetics which h held in the labor camp, for his camp diary, and for authoring the complaints of other prisoners.

At the trial witnesses who testified against Barladyanu were prisoners and former participants in his camp seminars.

In June, 1980 Barladyanu was again sentenced to 3 years imprisonment. This time he was sent to a criminal camp of strict regime.

We have recently received news that Barladyanu's wife was succumbed to the pressure from her parents and the KGB. This is probably why we have not had current news about Vasyl Barladyanu.

Biographical profile:

VASYL BARLADYANU - Born 1942
Art critic, poet, publicist
Rumanian, Eastern - Rite Catholic
Married, daughter Valeria, born 1970
Suffers from high blood pressure with
periodic flare-ups
Suffers from physical exhaustion

## TESTIMONY OF DR. NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKY ON YURY SHUKHEVYCH, UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONER SINCE 1948

In September 1971 I was forced to leave Ukraine and settled in the town of Nalchyk in Kabardyn-Balker (northern Caucasus). At that time Yury Shukhevych, who had already spent 20 years of prison-camp incarceration, was serving his term of exile there. In Nalchyk, Yury married, had two children, and worked as an electrician in a furniture factory in Nalchyk.

As godmother to Yury's son, I often saw the young Shukhevych family and know that during 1970-1971 Yury was periodically visited by KGB representatives from Ukraine, among them KGB Major Lytvyn. From conversations with Yury, I knew the goal of those visits. It was proposed, again and again, to the son of the famous UPA commander that he condemn the life path of his father in return for being allowed to enter the university. As is known, Yury heard such proposals frequently during his 20 years of incarceration. It is also known that Yury never acceded to such proposals during his incarceration. Such he remained during his period of freedom from 1968 to 1971. In the summer of 1971, he tried to enter the university in Groznyy and Ordzhonikidze. During his entrance examination, he was given an unsatisfactory grade in French, a language which Yury knew perfectly, probably even better than the Soviet examiner. This failure on the entrance examination was perhaps the first signal of danger. A KGB co-worker quickly visited Yury at home and again began to talk to him about the previous proposals. Yury, as before, remained the son of his famous father.

In December of 1971, I proposed to Yury that he and his family move into the apartment in which I was living in Nalchyk and which was more comfortable than the one in which Yury lived with his wife and two children, Roman (born in 1970) and Iryna (born in 1971). On December 2, 1971, Yury's daughter became ill, and Yury's wife, Valentyna, went with her to the hospital. Yury and his son remained at home even though Yury had to work every day. I too worked, and so in order to better care for the boy, on December 5, Yury agreed to move into my apartment with his son and belongings.

On the morning of December 6, investigators arrived from Kiev and Odessa with a warrant from the Ukrainian procurator to search my apartment and Yury's. During the search, there was found in the pocket of Yury's suit a student notebook which contained seven pages written in ink under the title of "Thinking Aloud." Among Yury's belongings was also found a samvydav collection of the poems of the then repressed Mykhola Kholodny. The following "criminal" materials were also found: a few torn out pages from a historical work published in Poland in 1969 and covering the events in Ukraine during the 40's and 50's. Yury had kept the pages in which his father was mentioned.

After the brutal search of December 6, 1971, I was arrested and later sentenced. On that day Yury was, for "humane" reasons, allowed to stay home with his son, perhaps because it was noticed that there was no one with whom the small child could be left, since as has been said Yury's wife was then in the hospital with their sick daughter. I emphasize the fact that Yury was not arrested on the same day that the search took place because it was decided to pressure him again about condemning his father.

To my trial were added materials from that search and materials from Yury's interrogation of December 1971 and January to March 1972. This gave me the opportunity of learning what was happening to Yury at this time. The materials from the previous case concerning Yury were transferred into a separate case. This meant that a new and third case was prepared against Yury Shukhevych. This case concerned the seven pages of unfinished text and several examples of samvydav material and official Polish text.

In April 1972 I was interrogated in the Odessa KGB compound by Karavan, a KGB investigator from Kiev. From the contents of his remarks, I learned that Yury was transferred for interrogation to Kiev. From the investigator's remarks, I learned also that the KGB was trying to prove that Yury had a series of conversations with me about what Ukrainians should do after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. It is quite possible that my conversations with Yury were spied upon at those times that he and I took walks in the street in order that the children had some fresh air. This turn in the investigation gives me reason to believe that Yury was pressured not only with recantations about his father but also with the fate of his children and friends. Investigator Karavan did not get the evidence he wanted either from me or from Yury. The KGB, not expecting Yury to give the kind of evidence it had long been waiting for, transferred him to Nalchyk.

In 1972 after a series of harassing actions against Yury Shukhevych and his wife, the Supreme Court of Kabardyn-Balkar sentenced him to 9 years of prison and 5 years of exile. Furthermore, Yury was treated in a way that eventually brought him to the ill-reputed labor camp of Potma in Mordovia. He was kept in a transfer prison much longer than is normal. Then he was returned for another trial because in his suit was found a piece of cloth with writing on it. It is known that the investigators judged this text to be anti-Soviet and as additional material for prosecution.

On the basis of this new "evidence," there was a review of the case and instead of the 9 years which Yury had been given in 1972, in 1973 he was sentenced to 10 years of prison and 5 years of exile. It was known that Yury's lawyer in Nalchyk said that Yury Shukhevych received this sentence only because he conducted himself at his trial like a hero rather than as an unjustly accused man. It is also known that the head of the court which sentenced Yury was later disqualified from his post because of immoral actions in his past.

It is also known that during his present incarceration, Yury has been taken to Ukraine, as was done during his first and second terms.

In 1979 Yury, while in prison, joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Yury suffers from stomach ulcers. He works and takes part in prisoners' protest actions. He has won for himself a moral authority and love among the prisoners

Yury's address:
422950 Chestopol
Tatarskaya ASSR
uch. U3 -- 148/st. 4
USSR

For letters:
Moscov
p/ya 5110/1-U3
USSR

Address of Yury's family:
Trotsenko, Valentina Mykolaivna (wife)
Kaliningrad-41
Beregovaya ul.8, kv 11
USSR

Yury is incarcerated under the name of Berezinsky-Shukhevych. His children were registered under the same name, but it is not known whether they have kept this name after they entered school. His son, Roman, shows exceptional mathematical ability. The boy was two years old when his father was arrested. After eight years, he first saw his father during a meeting to which the Kiev KGB "invited" Yury's wife and two children in 1978. I know that the meeting with his father, whom Roman had already forgotten, made a deep impression on the boy.

Date of Yury Shukhevych's release from prison: April 1987.

# TESTIMONY OF DR. NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKY
# ON YURY BADZYO, UKRAINIAN POLITICAL
# PRISONER SINCE 1979

Yury Badzyo was born on April 25, 1936, in Transcarpathia. His birthplace was the village of Kopynivtsi in the Mukachevo **Region.** The family into which Yury was born had nine children.

Yury is married to Svitlana Kyruychenko and has a daughter and son. The son (adopted) is named Serhy Drachuk and is 20 years old (born in 1961). The daughter is named Bohdana; she is a minor and is 14 years old (born in 1967).

Yury Badzyo finished the Transcarpathian University (Department of Ukrainian Philology) and for a number of years worked in the village schools of the Mukachevo **Region.** In 1961 he began post-graduate study in the Literary Institute of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev. The theme of his doctoral dissertation was The Criteria of Truth in the Evaluation of a Literary-Artistic Work.

Yury belongs to that group of Ukrainian researchers who are distressed by the humiliation state of Ukrainian culture, especially of the Ukrainian language. As a literary scholar he would like to raise the level of Ukrainian literary criticism, and one of his ambitions was to give his own interpretation of the history of Ukrainian literature as an integral part of the process of world literature.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the Club of Creative Youth (Klub Tvorchoi Molodi, KTU) was organized in Kiev. In this club participated some of the most creative talents of the time: Ye. Sverstyuk, I. Svitlychny, V. Stus, V. Chornovil, M. Plakhotnyuk, and others. From the first days of its founding, Yury was a member of the club's administration. He was an active and productive participant in the symposiums organized by the club. In the spring of 1965, participation in such forms of Ukrainian activity resulted in Yury's dismissal from work. (He had already completed his post-graduate work and was co-researcher at the Literary Institute of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev.) In September 1965, Yury took part in a political protest against the arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals. This protest was a well-known act among our contemporaries and took place on September 4, 1965, in the "Ukraine" film theater, before the showing of Tini Zabutykh Predkiv (Shadows of Forgotten Ancestor). This action was not without consequence for its participants. Yury Badzyo was soon expelled from the Communist Party and afterwards dismissed from his job at the state literary publishing house in which he began work after his punitive dismissal from the Literary Institute. He could, however, still earn a living, working at such jobs as editor of the Advertisement Publishing House, editor of a magazine for the blind, and editor of a magazine published by the Kiev Institute of General and Community Hygiene.

Working in an area unconnected with his field of expertise, Yury began to translate from the German. Some of his translations were published. He also tried to publish his literary criticism and wrote an article about the state of the only Ukrainian literary publication, Literary Ukraine. This article sketched the general condition of Ukrainian culture in the so-called Ukrainian Republic of the Soviet Socialist Republic. It was 1971. In that year all the editors to whom Yury sent his manuscripts returned his work, giving the dauntless author various explanations of why his articles were refused publication.

The arrival of 1972 marked the year of mass repressions in Ukraine. Yury's wife spoke out in defense of Nadia Svytlychna's 2-year old son, who was in fact imprisoned.* The political repressions roused Yury to work on a topic which he designated The Right To Live.

No one has seen the work titled The Right To Live, but the Ukrainian situation in 1972 was such that it was impossible for Yury for some time. After his dismissal from this institute he worked at the following jobs: transporting articles for art exhibitions, delivering bread at night, and even was directed by the Soviet district administration organs to work at a cement factory as a laborer.

By mid-1977, Yury wrote almost 1400 pages about problems disturbing to the author. The handwritten text was lost in succeeding KGB raids on Ukrainian intellectuals. Following this loss, the author took it upon himself to recreate a shorter version.

In February 1979, a new variant of the work about the right to live, this time consisting of over 400 typewritten pages, was discovered during a search and seized.

In April 1979, Yury Badzyo was arrested.

Just before his arrest, Yury was able to come up with a shortened version of The Right To Live. This work came to us under the title Open Letter.

If we calculated how much time until his arrest was wasted by Yury because he could not work in the area of his studies, then the result would be at least twelve years. And if we were to add to this the years that his name was not mentioned in Ukrainian literature in his country, then the figure would be another eight years.

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*Among the massive arrests in 1972, Nadia Svytlychna was also arrested.

In December 1979, philologist, translator, and literary critic Yury Badzyo was sentenced to twelve years: seven years' imprisonment in a concentration camp of severe regime and five years of exile.

The investigation and trial accused Yury of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, but in reality Yury was deprived of twelve years of freedom for his concern about the fate of Ukrainian culture and language. The subject of investigation proceedings was Yury Badzyo's creative output, especially his analytical work The Right To Live.

No copy of this work is extant. There is only an Open Letter. Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group published the text of the letter in Ukrainian in 1980 under the title Vydkrytyi Lyst.

Yury Badzyo has been an honorary member of the Norwegian Pen Club since 1980.

Yury's prison address: 431200 Barashevo
Tengushevskiy R-n
Mordovian ASSR
uch. ZhKh-385/3-5
USSR

For letters: Moscow
p/ya 5110/1-ZhKh
USSR

Address of Yury's family: Kyrychenko, Svytlana Tykhonivna (wife)
252150 Kiev-150
Chervonoakmiyska vul, 93, Kv. 16

Date of Yury Badzyo's release from prison: April 1991.

Mr. FASCELL. Well, our last witness has been very patiently waiting. It is Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovych who is a radiologist and a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group who was forced by the Soviet authorities to emigrate from his native land in 1979. We will be delighted to hear from you, Doctor. It is a pleasure to welcome you to this hearing of the Commission and have your contribution on our record.

## STATEMENT OF VOLODYMYR MALYNKOVYCH

Dr. MALYNKOVYCH [through interpreter]. Mr. Chairman, Members of Congress, friends. Of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union 40 percent are citizens of Ukraine. Many Ukrainian dissenters, including members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, are imprisoned in labor camps for ordinary criminals, having been sentenced on charges fabricated by the KGB. Scores of human rights defenders have been immured by court decision in special psychiatric hospitals. The judicial method of persecuting dissidents in Ukraine, however, is not the only one; it is not even the one most often used. The same goal of suppressing free thought is served by government actions that are designed to create an atmosphere of fear, continuously enveloping every citizen of the republic. Swift repression awaits those who still dare to express freely their opinions (not only negative opinions about the regime in general, but also a critical attitude toward its specific manifestations). Such repressions take the following forms:

Difficulties in finding a job; professional careers cut short; difficulties in getting an education; dismissals from work; unemployment; informing; wiretaps; electronic surveillance of apartments; slander, among relatives and friends, at work, and in the press; surveillance, various forms including open surveillance, virtual house arrest; detention, in courtrooms, on the street, on trains, or in stations; searches, both of the person and of the place of residence; administrative arrest for 10–15 days; threats, intimidation during "warning chats" with dissenters and their relatives, official warnings, intimidation during surveillance, intimidation via intermediaries; beatings of human rights defenders and rape threats against women dissenters; murder and suicide of dissidents such as Heliy Snyehirov and Mykhaylo Melnyk, as examples; administrative surveillance of former political prisoners; and psychiatric repressions without trial, for example, Lyudvyk Korbut and Myechyslav Vunkh.

In those cases where the above-mentioned measures do not produce the effect on a dissident which the KGB desires, then arrest and trial are sure to follow. The reasons for the arrest are of no importance, for they will be flagrantly fabricated. A dissenter has only one way out—to leave his homeland, those closest to him, and his friends. Even that solution is only available to a few; in general, only Jews who have very close relatives in Israel. Such persons are few; the vast majority of Jews wishing to emigrate from Ukraine are refused. In the latter part of 1979, after new regulations on accepting emigration documents for consideration by OVIR were introduced, in Kiev alone 10,000–12,000 Jews were denied emigration from the U.S.S.R. Almost all of these people also lost their jobs.

For Ukrainians, emigration is practically impossible. Repression in Ukraine is much more ruthless than in most other republics (not coincidentally, Ukrainians make up the highest percentage of political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps).

The reasons for this situation are the following:

First, the leaders of the Soviet empire realize that the national movement in Ukraine, together with such movements in other non-Russian republics of the U.S.S.R., is capable of undermining the immense might of the totalitarian state and in fact can nullify plans to create a worldwide state. The struggle against manifestations of national life in Ukraine is being waged via forced Russification and brutal repressions against dissenters.

Russification is implemented by granting significant privileges to the Russian-speaking population of Ukraine (and, consequently, by discrimination against Ukrainians). Such privileges consist of the following:

Russian is the language used, for all practical purposes, in state and party institutions;

Russian instruction in institutions of higher learning in Ukraine (with the exception of department of Ukrainian philology, reforms in higher schools, proposed during the time of Shelest, were rejected);

Russian is the language of science, technology, and medicine in Ukraine;

Russian is the language used in the field of social services (and, consequently, in everyday life);

The most mass-oriented art form (as Lenin called it)—cinema—is also in Russian.

The Ukrainian language has been preserved only in a few separate areas of culture. Practically all the higher achievements of Ukrainian culture, however, as well as the more important materials of Ukrainian history are kept hidden from the people or are destroyed (such as the arson of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences of the Library), while the better representatives of Ukrainian culture and science, more often than not, find themselves behind bars. Although books in the Ukrainian language are still being printed in rather large quantity, most are books of an ideological nature to serve the interest of the imperialistic state.

Thus, every Ukrainian faces a choice: Either he declares himself and his children to be second-rate people in their own homeland—by limiting his professional interests to work on a collective farm and his place of residence to the village—and then he can be a Ukrainian; or he switches over to Russian and never faces discrimination; or he steps onto the road of opposing Russification. Savage repressions by the primitive state apparatus await those who choose the last alternative.

Ukraine has been turned into an outland province, which leads to the following: First, additional provincial savagery and boorishness of practically uncontrolled primitive agents; second, the indifferent attitude of the people of Russia, the Russian population of Ukraine and Russified Ukrainians toward the nationality problems of the republic.

To a great degree, this situation is connected to Western indifference to Ukraine's problems. The U.S. consulate in Kiev was eliminated—it is unclear who was punished by this. Western journalists do not attempt to get accreditation in Kiev, the capital of a State that has a seat in the United Nations. The West does not aspire to develop diplomatic, cultural, or other relations with Ukraine—such relations, however, would demonstrate acknowledgment of the republic's sovereignty, proclaimed by the Soviet Constitution and by international law. The Ukrainian services of Radio Liberty and the Voice of America do not shed enough light on the problems of Ukraine. The Russian section of Radio Liberty has no regular program on the national life, history and culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. I consider these problems to be very important and I am prepared to answer questions concerning this.

There is practically nothing to counteract the propaganda of great-power chauvinism continuously spread in the U.S.S.R., and which is so indispensable in justifying aggression. Western—especially European—media do not pay enough attention to the human rights movement in Ukraine. The term "Russia" is regularly used instead of the words "Soviet Union." All of this undercuts the victory of the struggle for human and national rights in Ukraine. Despite everything, this struggle continues.

I want to believe that the Western community will come to understand that the leadership of the Soviet empire fears truth no less than it fears cannons and rockets. Savage of the repressions against human rights activists proves this. They fear that which today is happening in Poland.

Thank you.

Mr. **Fascell**. Thank you very much, Doctor. I certainly agree with your last conclusion. It is a very important that we, in the United States, and, in the West, never forget that truth is our ultimate weapon.

Some think that the Soviet people are resigned to their fate and that the dissident movement has little or no public support. How do you comment on that thinking, particularly as it applies to Ukraine?

Dr. **Malynkovych** [through interpreter]. It is impossible today for the legal opposition in the U.S.S.R., and in Ukraine, to have contact with the masses of people. This is inalterably tied to the very severe pressure of the KGB on the legal rights movement. But, none the less, such ties do exist and are spreading.

I was a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group for 1 year. In this 1-year period, dozens of people came to me with very serious problems. One person could not obtain permission to emigrate to the West, but was dying because he cannot get the necessary medical treatment in the U.S.S.R. Another was a Ukrainian, who, after finishing his education in Ukraine cannot work, goes outside of the Ukraine and returns. He then is thrown into an insane asylum and then finally into prison. Four Baptist believers who are totally incorruptible were charged with criminal theft and deprived of their liberty for many years. Many workers come and ask for assistance with their economic problems.

There are even some comedic incidences. Once a man came to me for help. He was a former lieutenant or major of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and was assistant the warden in the Lukyanenka Prison in Kiev, where a group member, Yuriy Lytvyn, was being held. But he came to the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. And he who had thrown us into prison came to us asking for help. I regard this as very symbolic and tells you as to what attitude the general populace has toward us. I can say that everyone knows the Ukrainian Helsinki group. It has become part of current reality in Ukraine.

Mr. FASCELL. You are a very young man. You weren't around during the holocaust, so what made you join the Ukrainian Helsinki Group?

Dr. MALYNKOVYCH [through interpreter]. To tell you the truth, I grew up in not a bad situation, in a Soviet military family. I was a Pioneer and a Komsomol member. I believed that in the Soviet Union we are building the most equitable system. Later, I understood that I was seeing a great crime and I it would be amoral not to personally defend the oppressed. That is not at all strange, because many members of the Ukrainian Human Rights Movement are young people who find themselves on the side of an oppressed people.

Mr. FASCELL. In other words, what moved you was government action against individuals.

Dr. MALYNKOVYCH [through interpreter]. Not only this. In 1968, I was a doctor in the army and I protested against the actions of the Soviet army in Czechoslovakia. Today the Soviet army has occupied Afghanistan. So, in practice, the Soviet battle against human rights leads to military aggression against entire peoples. I see an intimate connection between the internal repression against human rights activists and external aggression in the policy of the Soviet Union.

Mr. FASCELL. You are a very broad-minded individual. Mrs. Fenwick.

Mrs. FENWICK. I wanted to ask you about the condition for religious people, the churches and teaching children religion.

Dr. MALYNKOVYCH [through interpreter]. The situation of religion in Ukraine is very complex. The main church of Western Ukraine, that is to say, Uniate Catholic, has been destroyed. Millions of Ukrainians have been left without spiritual guidance, without priests.

Mrs. FENWICK. Are there no churches?

Dr. MALYNKOVYCH [through interpreter]. The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine was physically liquidated and is illegal according to Soviet law. Its faithful have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow. The Orthodox Church is also subservient to the Moscow Russian Orthodox Church and thus cannot minister to the needs of Ukrainian believers. The believers of smaller churches, such as Baptists and Seventh-Day Adventists, are repressed. Many Baptists are in prisons. I think you know about the persecution of the entire family of Georgy Vins.

Mrs. FENWICK. Have you brought this to the attention of our National Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches?

Dr. MALYNKOVYCH [through interpreter]. I believe Georgy Vins himself and also the World Congress of Free Ukrainians has sought to bring this to the attention of both parties.

Mrs. Fenwick. If there is anything I can do in that regard, I hope you'll let me know. I'd be very happy to forward anything. Information about people, or about practices, or about conditions of churches.

Dr. Malynkovych [through interpreter]. I suspect that the situation of individuals is not the major case here. It is necessary to inform the West as widely as possible, as well as people in Ukraine, about the conditions of the church and believers about the conditions faced by all believers in the Soviet Union.

Mrs. Fenwick. I was wondering also if you have any information about the condition of the Jewish people, their temples or synagogues.

Dr. Malynkovych [through interpreter]. I do have some information. There are practicing synagogues in Kiev. There are some people who would say that all is fine. I know, for example, those who wish to teach the Talmud are prohibited from doing so. Many Jews who attempt to attend Jewish religious observances are arrested at the synagogues and thrown into prison for 10 or 15 days.

Mrs. Fenwick. I would like to hear something about the radio situation.

Dr. Malynkovych [through interpreter]. The situation of radio broadcasts is very complex. Today, we are holding a hearing on the situation in Ukraine, for example, but I don't think there is here a representative from the Ukraine's section of Radio Liberty. It is important to speak before Members of Congress about the conditions of radio in Ukraine. Ukraine is second only to Russia proper; it is as important as Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. Other Soviet republics are in third and fourth place. In the Hungarian section there are 80 workers; in the Ukrainian, only 15. Besides, the Ukrainian section does not bring into sharp focus issues such as the nationalities question, as they pertain to Ukraine. I think it is for this reason that there is no representative from the Ukrainian section.

Practically speaking, virtually all peoples of the Soviet Union speak Russian. As a rule, very few Russians know about the problems of the smaller nationalities, because the only information they receive is official ideology. Therefore, I am convinced that at the Russian section of Radio Liberty there should be people who are assigned only to the non-Russian nationalities issue in the Soviet Union. I think in this matter Congress could be extremely helpful.

Mrs. Fenwick. A little hint.

Mr. Fascell. We thank you for the observation, the suggestion is well taken. Dr. Malynkovych, I want to thank you and all the witnesses and your friends to take the time to come down here today to make this public record commemorating the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. What we have heard here today will let the whole world know that freedom and spirit and dignity still live on despite oppression and misunderstanding.

What you have said here today certainly intensifies our admiration for all of you and for those who are not here, who are in jail or who have died or who are still struggling, wherever they are. And it increases our determination to try to be of as much help as we can to all of you.

Mr. **Karkov**. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. **Fascell**. Yes?

Mr. **Karkov**. I know that this Commission has been very patient. I would like to ask that on behalf of the organization that I represent here today that a small thank you be submitted into the record, if that would be possible.

Mr. **Fascell**. We would be delighted to include it into the record.

Mr. **Karkov**. May I read it to you?

Mr. **Fascell**. You certainly may. The floor is yours.

## STATEMENT OF ANDRIJ KARKOV

Mr. **Karkov**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, thank you, sir. Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission, on behalf of the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee and Smoloskyp, Organization for the Defense of Human Rights in Ukraine, I would like to thank you for the work of this Commission in compiling and collating information about the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. In particular, these hearings on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the formation of the Ukrainian Group is evidence of your steadfastness and dedication to the compliance provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

Today's hearings are also a humanitarian action, voicing concern for the condition and fate of individuals persecuted for their defense of human rights, national identity and the provisions of the Helsinki Agreement itself. We salute the Commission for its principled persistence in continuing to make public the plight of these prisoners of conscience in Soviet prisons, labor camps and psychiatric asylums.

From myself, from our organizations, our community and the American public, we congratulate and thank you for your excellent work you have done in supporting humanitarian ideals which we all hold so high. Thank you very much.

Mr. **Fascell**. Thank you very much, Mr. Karkov. It is a pleasure for us to work with you. The Commission meeting stands adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

[Whereupon, at 6:35 p.m. on Monday, November 16, 1981, the Commission was adjourned.]

[Statements submitted for the record follow:]

## BACKGROUND INFORMATION
## ON THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP (1976-1981)

On November 9, 1976, ten Ukrainians met in Kiev to announce the founding of the Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. The creation of an open and unauthorized group, composed of authors, researchers, jurists, a historian, a philospher, a former professional military man and an engineer, under a totalitarian regime began a new era in the history of Ukrainian dissent.

Recognizing that the Helsinki Final Act (1975) was the most recent human rights document, the Group's aim was to inform all the Helsinki signatories of the problems of Ukraine. In the words of founding member Nina Strokata, the Group "realized that, in exchange for the insincere promises of the USSR, 35 nations signed a document that recognizes the post-war borders of the Soviet Union and creates the conditions for strengthening a system that functions as a barrier against freedom and democracy...(nonetheless) Basket III of the Act of 1975 could become an effective contemporary alternative to totalitarianism." The text of the Declaration of its first program were signed by all the founding members: Oles Berdnyk, Petro Grigorenko, Ivan Kandyba, Levko Lukyanenko, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Oksana Meshko, Mykola Rudenko, Nina Strokata and Oleksiy Tykhy.

Hundreds of letters from Ukrainians to the Group attested not only to the need for its work but also to the repressive system. Barely three months had passed when the first head of the group, Mykola Rudenko, and Oleksiy Tykhy were arrested in February 1977. The two youngest founding members, Matusevych and Marynovych, were arrested two months later, in April. In spite of the arrests, however, the Group expanded: in 1977, twelve new members joined.

In an effort to force the regime to acknowledge its existence, the Group published a document in October 1977 proposing that the Group be recognized as a public organization conducting activities in accordance with its declared principles. Similar appeals in April 1978 and February 1979 received no response from the authorities except for increased repression.

In 1979, a new wave of arrests began: Oles Berdnyk (who had taken over the leadership of the Group when Rudenko was arrested) was arrested along with eight other Group members. Once again, however, the Group continued in 1979 to grow as some political prisoners formed an ancillary organization "to promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in Places of Imprisonment."

Of the 37 Group members, 23 were imprisoned as of October 1981; one (Mykola Melnyk) committed suicide on March 9, 1979, due to KGB persecution; four were in internal exile; three had been released fromprison; and six had been forced to emigrate. The families of some Group members have also been harrassed and imprisoned. Many of those imprisoned were falsely charged with criminal ofenses -- including "attempted rape".

Despite this campaign of repression, the work of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group continues. Five members of the Group, who have emigrated to the West, publish regular information bulletins, edited by Nadia Svitlychna, on the current situation in Ukraine.

# UPDATED BIOGRAPHIES OF THIRTY IMPRISONED UKRAINIAN MEMBERS OF HELSINKI GROUP

BERDNYK, OLEKSANDER PAVLOVYCH

BORN: NOVEMBER 25, 1927

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO VALENTYNA SOKORYNSKA, TWO DAUGHTERS

PROFESSION: WRITER

ARREST: MARCH 6, 1979, KIEV

TRIAL DATE: DECEMBER 17-21, 1972

SENTENCE: 6 YEARS STRICT-REGIME LABOR CAMP, 3 YEARS' EXILE FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA" (ART. 62-1)

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: MARCH 1988

ADDRESS: (PRISON) MOSKVA, p/ya 5110/1-VS
(WIFE) UKRAINIAN SSR
KYIVSKA OBL.
S. HREBENI

CHORNOVIL, VYACHESLAV MAKSYMOVYCH

BORN: DECEMBER 24, 1937

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO ATENA PASHKO: SON, TARAS

PROFESSION: JOURNALIST AND LITERARY CRITIC

ARREST: JANUARY 12, 1972, LVIV

TRIAL DATE: APRIL 12, 1973, LVIV

SENTENCE: 6 YEARS IN STRICT-REGIME CAMP, 3 YEARS IN EXILE FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA" (ARTICLE 62-1)

REARRESTED: TOWARD END OF TERM IN EXILE, REARRESTED IN NYURBA, YAKUT ASSR (PLACE OF EXILE) ON APRIL 8, 1980

TRIAL DATE: JUNE 4-6, 1980, YAKUTSK

SENTENCE: 5 YEARS IN STRICT-REGIME LABOR CAMP ON A TRUMPED UP CHARGE OF ATTEMPTED RAPE (ART. 117)

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: APRIL 1985

ADDRESS: (PRISON) MOSKVA, p/va 5110/1-YaD

(WIFE) UKRAINIAN SSR
290014 LVIV
VUL. NISHCHYNSKOHO
KV. 6

CHORNOVIL HAS RENOUNCED HIS SOVIET CITIZENSHIP

HEYKO, OLHA DMYTRIVNA

BORN: SEPTEMBER 9, 1953

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO MYKOLA MATUSEVYCH

PROFESSION: PHILOLOGIST (SPECIALIST IN CZECH)

ARREST: MARCH 12, 1980, KIEV

TRIAL DATE: AUGUST 26, 1980

SENTENCE: 3 YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT ON CHARGES OF "ANTI-SOVIET SLANDER"

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: MARCH, 1983.

ADDRESS: (PRISON) MOSKVA, p/ya 5110/1-YuH
(MOTHER-IN-LAW) UKRAINIAN SSR
KYIVSKA OBL.
M. VASYLKIV
VUL. GAGARIN
ANASTASIA FEDORIVNA MATUSEVYCH

APPLIED TO EMIGRATE IN 1979

HORBAL, MYKOLA ANDRIYOVYCH

BORN: MAY 6, 1941

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO ANNA MYKHALIVNA MARCHENKO
SON, ANDRIY

PROFESSION: POET, MUSIC TEACHER

ARREST: OCTOBER 23, 1979, KIEV

TRIAL DATE: AUGUST 26, 1980

SENTENCE: 5 YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT ON A FABRICATED CHARGE OF "ATTEMPTED RAPE" (ART. 117) AND "RESISTING A REPRESENTATIVE OF AUTHORITY" (ART. 190)

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: OCTOBER 1984

PREVIOUS PROSECUTION AND INCARCERATION: TRIED IN 1971 UNDER ARTICLE 62, AND SENTENCED TO 5 YEARS OF STRICT-REGIME LABOR CAMP AND TWO YEARS EXILE. POETRY USED AS EVIDENCE AGAINST HORBAL.

ADDRESS: (PRISON) MOSKVA, p/va 5110/1-YN
(WIFE) UKRAINIAN SSR 252098
PROSPEKT PAVLA TYCHYNY, 12b
KV. 97
KIEV 98, UKRAINE

HORBAL HAS APPLIED TO EMIGRATE TO THE U.S. IN 1979. EMIGRATION DENIED

KANDYBA, IVAN OLEKSIYOVICH

BORN: JULY 7, 1930

FAMILY STATUS: UNMARRIED

PROFESSION: LAWYER

ARREST: MARCH 24, 1981

TRIAL DATE: JULY 12, 1981, LVIV

SENTENCE: 10 YEARS IMPRISONMENT, 5 YEARS OF INTERNAL EXILE
CHARGED WITH "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA"

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: MARCH, 1996

ADDRESS: (PRISON) MOSKVA, p/ya 5110/1-VS
(FATHER) KANDYBA, OLEKSA
290000, LVIV
VUL. DEKABRYSTIV, 57
KV. 37
UKRAINE

KALYNYCHENKO, VITALIY VASYLYOVYCH

BORN: 1935

FAMILY STATUS: UNMARRIED

PROFESSION: ENGINEER

ARREST: NOVEMBER 29, 1979, VASYLKIVKA, DNIPROPETROVSK OBL.

TRIAL DATE: JUNE 1980

SENTENCE: 10 YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT, 5 YEARS OF INTERNAL EXILE
ON CHARGES OF "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA"
(ART. 62-II)

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: NOVEMBER 1994

ADDRESS: (PRISON) MOSKVA p/ya 5110/1-VS

KRASIVSKY, ZINOVIY MYKOLAYOVYCH

BORN: NOVEMBER 12, 1929

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO OLENA TYMOFIYIVNA, TWO SONS

PROFESSION: POET, PHILOLOGIST

ARREST: MARCH 1980

TRIAL DATE: NONE

SENTENCE: SENT TO LABOR CAMP WITHOUT INVESTIGATION OR TRIAL: SOVIET AUTHORITIES ALLEGEDLY HAVE USED PRETEXT THAT KRASIVSKY HAS BEEN TAKEN INTO CUSTODY TO FINISH REMAINDER (EIGHT MONTHS IN CAMP AND FIVE YEARS IN EXILE) OF A PREVIOUS TERM FROM WHICH HE HAD BEEN RELEASED EARLY BECAUSE OF ILL HEALTH

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: NOVEMBER 1985, HE IS NOW IN EXILE

(PRISON)
ADDRESS: 626232. LUHOVSKOI
KHANTY-MANSYNSKY RAION
TURKMENSKAYA OB.

(WIFE) 290041, LVIV - 41
VUL. SPOKIYNA, 13
UKRAINIAN SSR

NOTE: APPLIED TO EMIGRATE TO U.S. (WIFE HAS FAMILY MEMBERS IN U.S.) REFUSED; PREVIOUS INCARCERATION IN PSYCHIATRIC FACILITY LEAVES CONTINUED THREAT OF FUTURE IMPRISONMENT ON PSYCHIATRIC GROUNDS; FATHER'S IMPRISONMENT DEPRIVES SONS OF OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN HIGHER EDUCATION

LESIV, YAROSLAV VASYLYOVYCH

BORN: 1945

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO STEFANIYA FEDORIVNA: SON, TARAS

PROFESSION: PHYSICAL EDUCATION INSTRUCTOR

ARREST: NOVEMBER 15, 1979; BOLEKHIV, IVANO-FRANKIVSK OBL.

TRIED AND SENTENCED: 1980, 2 YEARS IN LABOR CAMP ON FABRICATED CHARGE OF "POSSESION OF NARCOTICS" (ART. 229).

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: 1982

ADDRESS: (WIFE) UKRAINIAN SSR, 285603
IVANO-FRANKIVSKA OBL.
DOLYNSKYI RN.
M. BOLEKHIV
VUL. SHCHORSA, 14

LUKYANENKO, LEV HRYHOROVYCH

BORN: AUGUST 24, 1928

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO NADIYA NYKONIVNA

PROFESSION: LAWYER

ARREST: DECEMBER 12, 1977, CHERNIHIV

TRIAL: JULY 17-20, 1978, HORODNAYA, CHERNIHIV OBL.

SENTENCE: 10 YEARS OF SPECIAL-REGIMEN LABOR CAMP, 5 YEARS EXILE FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA" ART. 62-II)

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: 1993

ADDRESS: (PRISON) p/ya 5110/1-VS

(WIFE) UKRAINIAN SSR
250019, CHERNIHIV M.
VUL. ROKOSOVSKOHO
41-B, KV. 41

NOTE: APPLIED FOR EMIGRATION AND RENOUNCED SOVIET CITIZENSHIP HAS CRITICIZED LACK OF EMIGRATIONS RIGHTS FOR ETHNIC UKRAINIANS. ARRESTED FOR ATTEMPT TO EMIGRATE

**LYTVYN, YURIY TYMONOVYCH**

BORN: 1934

FAMILY STATUS: DIVORCED; ONE CHILD

PROFESSION: WRITER

ARREST: AUGUST 6, 1979, KIEV

TRIAL: DECEMBER 17-19, 1979, KIEV

SENTENCE: 3 YEARS OF STRICT-REGIMEN LABOR CAMP ON A FABRICATED CHARGE OF "RESISTING THE MILITIA" (ART. 188-1).

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: AUGUST 1982

ADDRESS: (PRISON) MOSKVA, p/ya 5110/1-YU A

(MOTHER) PARUBCHENKO, NADIA ANTONIVNA
UKRAINIAN SSR
251160 KIEVSKA OBL.
YASYLKIVSKYI RN.
BARAKHTY

**MARYNOVYCH, MYROSLAV FRANKOVYCH**

BORN: JANUARY 4, 1949

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO RAISA SEMENIVNA, ONE CHILD

PROFESSION: ELECTRONICS ENGINEER

ARREST: APRIL 23, 1977, KIEV

TRIAL: MARCH 20-29 1978, VASYLKIV, KIEV OBL.

SENTENCE: 7 YEARS OF STRICT-REGIMEN LABOR CAMP, 5 YEARS EXILE FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA" (ART. 62-1)

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: APRIL 1989

ADDRESS: (PRISON) MOSKVA, p/ya 5110/1-UYe. TRANSFERRED TO CHYSTOPOL PRISON

(WIFE) S. KALYNIVKA
VASYLKIVSKY RAION
KIEV, OBL., UKRAINE
USSR

MATUSEVYCH, MYKOLA IVANOVYCH

BORN: JULY 12, 1947

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO OLHA DMYTRIVNA HEYKO

PROFESSION: HISTORIAN

ARREST: APRIL 23, 1977, KIEV

TRIAL: MARCH 22-29, 1978, VASYLKIV, KIEV OBL.

SENTENCE: 7 YEARS STRICT-REGIME LABOR CAMP, 5 YEARS' EXILE
FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA"
(ART. 62-1) AND "VICIOUS HOOLIGANISM" (ART. 206-2)

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: 1990

ADDRESS: (PRISON) MOSKVA, p/yl 5110/1/UYe

(MOTHER) MATUSEVYCH, ANASTASIA FEDORIVNA
M. VASYLKIV
VUL. GAGARINA
KIEV OBL. UKRAINE
SSR

MELNYK, MYKHALO SPYRYDONOVYCH

BORN: 1944,

DIED: MARCH 9, 1979

FAMILY STATUS: LATE HUSBAND OF HALYNA MELNYK, TWO DAUGHTERS

WIDOW'S ADDRESS: UKRAINIAN SSR
KYIVSKA OBL.
BROVARSKYI RN.
S. POHREBY

MESHKO, OKSANA YAKIVNA

BORN: JANUARY 30, 1905

FAMILY STATUS: MOTHER OF OLEKSANDER SERHIYENKO, POLITICAL PRISONER SUFFERING FROM TUBERCULOSIS.

ARREST: JUNE 12, 1980, KIEV. TEMPORARILY HELD IN PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL AND THREATED WITH FURTHER INCARCERATION IN SAME.

ARREST: OCTOBER 10, 1980

TRIAL: JANUARY 6, 1981

SENTENCE: 6 MONTHS OF STRICT-REGIMEN LABOR CAMP, 5 YEARS EXILE FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA", (ART. 62-II)

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: OCTOBER 1985

ADDRESS: (EXILE) 682080 AYAN
AYANO-MAYSKI RAION
KHABAROVSKA OBL.
VUL. VOSTRETSOVA, 18

OVSIYENKO, VASYL VASYLYOVYCH

BORN: 1949

FAMILY STATUS: UNMARRIED

PROFESSION: TEACHER OF UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

ARREST: NOVEMBER 18, 1979, LENINO, REDOMYSHL RN. ZHYTOMYR OBL.

TRIAL: FEBRARY 7-8, 1979, RADOMYSHL

SENTENCE: 3 YEARS IN STRICT REGIMEN LABOR CAMP FOR "RESISTING A REPRESENTATIVE OF AUTHORITY",

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: FEBRUARY, 1982

ADDRESS: (PRISON) MOSKVA, p/ya 5110/1-YaYa
(MOTHER) OVSIENKO, EVFROZYNA FEDORIVNA
260367 LENINO, RADOMYSHL RN.
ZHYTOMYR OBL.

(SEE NOTE ATTACHED)

POPOVYCH, OKSANA ZENONIVNA

BORN: JANUARY 30, 1925

FAMILY STATUS: UNMARRIED

ARREST: NOVEMBER 1974, IVANO-FRANKIVSK

TRIAL: FEBRUARY 1975, IVANO-FRANKIVST

SENTENCE: 8 YEARS OF STRICT-REGIMEN LABOR CAMP, 5 YEARS OF EXILE FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA" (ART. 62-II).

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: OCTOBER 1987

ADDRESS: (PRISON) MOSKVA, p/ya 5110/1-ZhKh
(BROTHER) POPOVYCH OLEKSA MARYANOVYCH
284000 IVANO-FRANKIVSK
VUL. PANASA MYRNOHO, 15

REBRYK, BOHDAN VASYLOVYCH

BORN: JUNE 30, 1938

FAMILY STATUS: DIVORCED, ONE DAUGHTER

PROFESSION: TEACHER

ARREST: MAY 23, 1974, IVANO-FRANKIVSK

SENTENCE: 7 YEARS OF SPECIAL-REGIMEN LABOR CAMP, 3 YEARS OF EXILE FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA" (ART. 62-II).

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: MAY 1984

ADDRESS: (PRISON) 474230 KENBYDANK
KURHALZHYNSKYI RN.
TSELYNAHRADSKAYA OBL.
USSR

ROZUMNY, PETRO PAVLOVYCH

BORN: MARCH 7, 1926

FAMILY STATUS: SEPARATED.

PROFESSIONL TEACHER OF ENGLISH

ARREST: OCTOBER 19, 1979, DNIPROPETROVSK

TRIAL: DECEMBER, 1979, SOLONE, DNIPROPETROVSK OBL.

SENTENCE: 3 YEARS OF GENERAL-REGIMEN LABOR CAMP, ON A FABRICATED CHARGE OF "POSSESSION OF A WEAPON" (ART. 222)

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN RELEASED

ADDRESS: WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

ROMANYUK, REV. VASYL OMELYANOVYCH

BORN: DECEMBER 9, 1925

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO MARIYA MARKIVNA

PROFESSION: ORTHODOX PRIEST

ARREST: JANUARY 12, 1972, IVANO-FRANKIVSK

TRIAL: JULY 1972, IVANO-FRANKIVSK

SENTENCE: 2 YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT, 5 YEARS OF SPECIAL-REGIMEN LABOR CAMP, 3 YEARS OF INTERNAL EXILE FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA". (ART. 62-II).

ADDRESS: ACCORDING TO LATEST INFORMATION, HE WAS RELEASED FROM EXILE, WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

(WIFE) 285250, KOSIV
IVANO-FRANKIVSKA OBL.
PROV. KOBYLVANSKOY, 3
UKRAINIAN SSR

RUDENKO, MYKOLA DANYLOVYCH

BORN: DECEMBER 19, 1920

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO RAISA OPANASIVNA: FOUR CHILDREN

PROFESSION: POET AND WRITER, DECORATED VETERAN AND INVALID OF WWII

ARREST: FEBRUARY 5, 1977, KIEV

TRIAL: JUNE 23-JULY 1, DRUZHIVKA, DONETSK OBL.

SENTENCE: 7 YEARS OF STRICT-REGIMEN LABOR CAMP, 5 YEARS IN EXILE FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA" (ART. 62-1).

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: FEBRUARY 1989

SENYK, IRYNA MYKHAYLIVNA

BORN: JUNE 8, 1925

FAMILY STATUS: UNMARRIED

PROFESSION: NURSE

ARREST: NOVEMBER 17, 1972, IVANO-FRANKIVSK

TRIAL: FEBRUARY 1973, IVANO-FRANKIVSK

SENTENCE: 6 YEARS STRICT-REGIME LABOR CAMP, 3 YEARS' EXILE FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA" (ART. 62)

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: 1982

ADDRESS: USSR, 489100
KAZAKHSKAYA SSR
TALDY-KURGANSKAYA OBL.
KARATALSKII RN.
POS. USH-TOBE

SHABATURA, STEFANIYA MYKHAYLIVNA

BORN: NOVEMBER 5, 1938

FAMILY STATUS: UNMARRIED

PROFESSION: ARTIST

ARREST: JANUARY 12, 1972, LVIV

TRIAL: JULY 1972, LVIV

SENTENCE: 5 YEARS OF STRICT-REGIMEN LABOR CAMP, 3 YEARS OF EXILE FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA" (ART. 62).

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: HAVING SERVED SENTENCE, SHABATURA WAS GIVEN A TEMPORARY PERMIT TO LIVE IN LVIV, SUBJECT TO HER BEHAVIOR

ADDRESS: UKRAINIAN SSR, 290017
LVIV 17
VUL. KUTUZOVA 116, KV. 2

SHUKHEVYCH-BEREZYNSKY, YURIY ROMANOVYCH

BORN: MARCH 28, 1934

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO VALENTYNA MYKOLAYIVNA, SON ROMAN
DAUGHTER IRYNA

ARREST: MARCH 1972, NALCHIK, KABARDINO-BALKAR ASSR

TRIAL: SEPTEMBER 9, 1972, NALCHIK

SENTENCE: 10 YEARS OF SPECIAL-REGIMEN PRISON FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA: (ART. 62-II), AND 5 YEARS IN EXILE.

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: MARCH 1987

ADDRESS: (PRISON) MOSKVA, p/ya 5110/1-UYe
(WIFE) USSR
KALYNGRAD 41
VUL. BEREHOVAYA, 8
KV. 11

SHUMUK, DANYLO LAVRENTIYOVYCH

BORN: DECEMBER 1914

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED, TWO CHILDREN

PROFESSION: WRITER

ARREST: JANUARY 12, 1972, VOLYN OBL.

TRIAL: JULY 5-7, 1972, KIEV

SENTENCE: 10 YEARS' SPECIAL-REGIME LABOR CAMP, 5 YEARS EXILE FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA" (ART. 62-2).

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: 1987

ADDRESS: (DAUGHTER) KOLACH, VIRA DANYLIVNA
S. ROZKOPANTSI
BOHUSLAVSKI RN.
KIEV, OBL.

### SICHKO, PETRO VASYLYOVYCH

BORN: AUGUST 18, 1926

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO STEPANIYA PETRASH; SONS VASYL AND VOLODYMYR, DAUGHTER OKSANA

PROFESSION: ECONOMIST

ARREST: JULY 5, 1979, DOLYNA, IVANO-FRANKIVSK OBL.

TRIAL: DECEMBER 4, 1979, LVIV

SENTENCE: 3 YEARS' STRICT-REGIME LABOR CAMP FOR "SLANDERING THE STATE". (ART. 187-1).

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: 1982

ADDRESS: (WIFE) 285600 DOLYNA
IVANO-FRANKIVSK OBL.
VUL. PANASA MYRNOHO 14
UKRAINE, USSR

### SICHKO, VASYL PETROVYCH

BORN: DECEMBER 22, 1956; SON OF PETRO SICHKO

FAMILY STATUS: UNMARRIED

ARREST: JULY 5, 1979, DOLYNA, IVANO-FRANKIVSK OBL.

TRIAL: DECEMBER 4, 1979, LVIV

SENTENCE: 3 YEARS REINFORCED-REGIME LABOR CAMP FOR "SLANDERING THE STATE" (ART. 187-1)

ADDRESS: (HOME) UKRIANIAN SSR
IVANO-FRANKIVSKA OBL.
M. DOLYNA
VUL. PANASA MYRHOHO, 14

SOKULSKY, IVAN HRYHOROVYCH

BORN: ~1940

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED

PROFESSION: JOURNALIST, POET

ARRESTED: APRIL 11, 1980

TRIAL: APRIL 1980

SENTENCE: 10 YEARS OF STRICT-REGIMENT LABOR CAMP, 5 YEARS OF EXILE, (ART. 62-II)

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: 1990

ADDRESS: (MOTHER) DNIPROPETROVSKA OBL.
M. PRYDNIPROVSK
VUL MYRU, 3

STRILTSIV, VASYL STEPANOVYCH

BORN: JANUARY 13, 1929

FAMILY STATUS: UNMARRIED

PROFESSION: TEACHER OF ENGLISH, TRANSLATOR

ARREST: OCTOBER 25, 1979, DOLYNA, IVANO-FRANKIVSK OBL.

TRIAL: NOVEMBER 12, 1979, DOLYNA

SENTENCE: 2 YEARS STRICT-REGIME LABOR CAMP ON FABRICATED CHARGE OF "VIOLATION OF PASSPORT REGULATIONS". (ART. 196)

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: 1981

ADDRESS: (BROTHER) UKRAINIAN SSR, 285600
IVANO-FRANKIVSK OBL.
DOLYNSKYI RN.
S. OBOLONYA, VUL. SHEVCHENKA
PAVLO STRILTSIV

STUS, VASYL SEMENOVYCH

BORN: JANUARY 8, 1938

FAMILY STATUS: VALENTYNA VASYLIVNA POPELYUKH

PROFESSION: WRITER, POET

ARRESTED: MAY 14, 1980, KIEV

TRIAL: OCTOBER (?) 1980

SENTENCE: 10 YEARS IN SPECIAL-REGIMEN LABOR CAMP AND 5 YEARS
IN EXILE, UNDER ARTICLE 70.

TENETATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: 1995

ADDRESS: (WIFE) VALENTYNA POPELIUK
UL. CHORNOBYLSKA, 13A, KV. 99
KIEV, 179
UKRAINE, USSR

TYKHY, OLEKSA IVANOVYCH

BORN: JANUARY 27, 1927

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED; TWO SONS

PROFESSION: TEACHER

ARREST: FEBRUARY 5, 1977, DONETSK

TRIAL: JUNE 23 -JULY 1, 1977, DRUZHKIVKA, DONETSK OBL.

SENTENCE: 10 YEARS' SPECIAL REGIME LABOR CAMP, 5 YEARS EXILE
FOR "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA" (ART. 62, 222-1)
SENTENCE CONFIRMED BY SUPREME COURT OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR
ON SEPTEMBER 15, 1977

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: 1992

ADDRESS: WIFE'S TELEPHONE 371-03-70 (MOSKVA)

ZISELS, YOSYF SAMIYLOVYCH

BORN: DECEMBER 2, 1946

FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO IRYNA BORYSIVNA; THREE CHILDREN

PROFESSION: ENGINEER

ARREST: DECEMBER 8, 1978, CHERNIVTSI

TRIAL: APRIL 3-5, 1979, CHERNIVTSI

SENTENCE: 3 YEARS REINFORCED-REGIME LABOR CAMP FOR "SLANDERING THE STATE" (ART. 187-1).

TENTATIVE DATE OF RELEASE: 1982

ADDRESS: (WIFE) 274029 CHERNIVTSI 29
VUL. HAYDARA, 9
KV. 23
UKRAINE, USSR

UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP DOCUMENTS:

(1) "MEMORANDUM" (FALL 1979)

(2) "THE UKRAINIAN HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT" (OCTOBER 1979)

(3) "FOR THE RIGHT TO BE A UKRAINIAN" (IVAN SOKULSKY, 1979)

(4) "APPEAL" (VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL, APRIL 9, 1981)

# THE UKRAINIAN PUBLIC GROUP TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

## MEMORANDUM

The past two decades became marked in the world as an era of political thaw and the activation of movements that expressed the will of individuals, political groups and entire peoples. This phenomenon did not bypass the Soviet Union, as well.

As the events in 1968 in Czechoslovakia demonstrated, the Soviet government -- its statements during the post-Stalin period to the contrary -- was not prepared for nor did it adapt to such forms of manifestation of social life and, of all the means of resolving an irritating political situation, chose the most primitive and the most traditional means of an imperial state -- military might.

In recent years we have had an analogous phenomenon inside the Soviet state. The government signed international treaty acts in Helsinki, having no intention of observing them. These acts were to have applied to someone, somewhere abroad -- American Negroes or Indians -- but not to Soviet citizens. As if to say, Soviet society has already secured all rights for its citizens after the October Revolution.

That is what the government thought (it also expected that, as happened earlier, the Soviet people would remain indifferent to everything), but something else happened. In that same state where politics and manifestations of social life are monopolized by the Communist Party were formed public groups to promote the implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

The position of the Helsinki groups attracted the attention of the community in the country itself and throughout the world, on the other hand evoking intolerance on the part of Soviet authorities. The Soviet government would like to drive this current of public opposition into an illegal position, into the underground, transform it into an anti-state group and, charging it with anti-state conspiracy, square accounts with it. It would like to deprive it of the immunity of publicity and legality, of the support of world public opinion.

In Ukraine (and was it only in Ukraine!) in the most shameful way, in the style of the Stalin era, were conducted the trials and arrests of Helsinki Group members Mykola Rudenko, Oleksiy Tykhy, Levko Lukyanenko, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Yosyf Zisels, Vasyl Ovsiyenko, Vasyl and Petro Sichko, Oles Berdnyk, Yuriy Lytvyn. For anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda! For slander! For resisting the police! For some other semi-criminal, cynically fabricated offenses ... This was the Communist Party squaring political accounts with its opponents. This time everything went "as in the old days." World public opinion did not help. The leading standard bearer of the struggle for human rights, American President Carter, turned out to be powerless. The Belgrade Conference became muddled. We must admit that in its duel with the Ukrainian Helsinki Group the Soviet government formally gained remarkable results: almost all of the materials prepared by the Group under unbelievably difficult conditions have either been destroyed or still await their release.

We believe that the Helsinki Group in Ukraine has become a national problem for today, a vital issue for the Ukrainian people. We direct the attention of Ukrainian patriots to the exceptional need for its existence, and to the fact that the Group has become a factor in the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national and political liberation, for the human right to live freely on their own land.

We who have signed below attest before the entire world and declare to the Soviet government: the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords lives. The existence of the Group is equivalent to our life, our right to think, to create, to express our opinions.

We do not want to stand on the sidelines while sociopolitical problems that concern us are being decided.

We cannot watch in silence while accounts are squared with patriots, with the better sons and daughters of our people.

We are vitally interested in having life in our country and in the entire world put in order, we are vitally interested in the victory of laws that would guarantee maximum human rights.

Those of us who have just joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group state that we remain faithful to the founding documents announced by the Group and declare that we will continue to act within the framework of the law.

We also call on everyone to further the activity of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, to spread its popularity and acquaint the widest circles of the public with its ideas.

We ask that all materials, statements, complaints, letters and announcements be sent to our addresses. To the "Memorandum" we add the texts of the statements and the biographies of the new members of the Group (Z. Krasivsky, P. Rozumny, I. Sokulsky, V. Chornovil).

Those arrested, sentenced or under investigation:

Mykola Rudenko
Levko Lukyanenko
Oleksa Tykhy
Myroslav Marynovych
Mykola Matusevych
Yosyf Zisels
Vasyl Ovsiyenko
Oles Berdnyk
Petro Sichko
Vasyl Sichko
Yuriy Lytvyn

Expatriated:

Petro Grigorenko
Leonid Plyushch
Nadiya Svitlychna
Petro Vins

Memorandum signed by:

Mykola Horbal
Vitaliy Kalynychenko
Ivan Kandyba
Svyatoslav Karavansky
Zynoviy Krasivsky
Yaroslav Lesiv
Volodymyr Marynkovych
Oksana Meshko
Oksana Popovych
Bohdan Rebryk
Petro Rozumny

Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk
Iryna Senyk
Ivan Sokulsky
Vasyl Striltsiv
Nina Strokata
Vasyl Stus
Vyacheslav Chornovil
Stefaniya Shabatura
Danylo Shumuk
Yurko Shukhevych

Fall 1979

Translated by the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee

## THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

In the history of the development of human society we can discover various aspects of the struggle of an individual, a nation, a state for its own interests; but even in assessing the struggles of individuals and larger social organisms from the standpoint of contemporary morality and world outlook, we introduce our own appraisal. Is it a fair one? It is precisely here that an unceasing battle is being waged, where pens, not swords, are being crossed. Defeated concepts gather dust in libraries, while new opinions in the mutual battle stand ready to gnaw at each others' throats, or to raise their enemy by the point of the pen.

The battle goes on. A cruel, eternal battle. And no longer are swords being crossed, or are pens scratching: humanity, armed with competing ideologies, waves about nuclear bombs, threatening self-destruction. The battle continues. Fantastic resources are spent for "defense." And peoples no longer know how to defend themselves against this "defense." In bigger countries, "defense" becomes a power heretofore unheard of and it breaks the weaker boundaries of small states and nations. It breaks into not only the homes of states and nations. Under the banner of various ideologies, it seeps into all spheres of human life. Into the holiest ideas, into the most just aspirations. If it was just a matter of ideologies, we would become like Swiftian Big-endians and Little-endians. But this struggle has its own subtext. This subtext is imperialistic great-power interests. On the other hand we have the titanic efforts of the human mind, spirit and existential indispensability in such great achievements as the establishment of the UN and its various associated committees, organs and divisions, which today have become humanitarian institutions with whose help humanity yearns to resolve its problems.

One such problem is human rights. A declaration was approved and signed by the UN back in 1949. Yet we cannot say that this event had any concrete results. Nowhere were the doors of prisons opened for political prisoners, not one despot came to his senses; rather, all of them interpreted this document in their own way. Meanwhile the voice of the individual was being lost in the walls or in the hubbub of official propaganda, which, by the way, soiled this document with its criminal fingers in the ideological battle.

That is the way it was until 1975, until the convocation of the conference of European states in Helsinki. That is the way it was until President Carter's arrival in the White House.

We have no doubt that the representatives of the Soviet Union signed this document with a light heart, hoping that this international agreement as well would bind everybody, only not the Soviet government, that everything will remain as it was, while yet another trump card fell into the hands of Soviet propaganda.

Thus it was supposed to be, but that is not the way it happened. Contrary to all expectations, it did not happen. Though the "united" ranks of the party stand at the head of the peoples of the USSR, as they stood in the past. Though the party ranks are "fused" "as one with the people." Though the legendary, multimillion Komsomol, "loyal to Lenin's ideas," is active, as are the all-encompassing trade unions, the same and even more renowned organs of state security, the police, the army, the universal draft, in a word, the entire dependable, controlled Soviet society. And, in addition, "the nationally and unanimously approved" and ratified new constitution, which in "truth," "justice" and "democracy" has surpassed the unsurpassable, most just and most democratic Stalin constitution.

It did not turn out as they supposed it would.

Humanity entered a new era of social relations and problems. State interests still remained at the center of attention but human rights became a factor in international politics and in international relations. The Helsinki Final Act became a painful sliver for the Soviet Union, whose humanitarian paragraphs trouble the ruling elite to this day.

For the first time in many decades a moral opposition concretely took shape in the USSR: groups to promote the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act sprung up in Ukraine, Russia, Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia. It was precisely they that embodied the thoughts and desires of people of good will, talented and uncommon people, pure people, of enthusiasts who place the interests of all the people above their own, and knowingly sacrificed themselves.

Only two years have passed since the creation of the Helsinki Group in Ukraine. For history, this is a totally imperceptible stretch of time. It is also insignificant for the development of society. But now even, looking back at them, we clearly see the outlines of events against a background of our reality and we can say without hesitation: these years have been meaningful for us and for the development of socio-political thought in Ukraine; momentous for the realization of new tendencies in the defense of the vital interests of our people, in surmounting traditional forms of battle for our national rights; for the understanding of everything new that the movement for human rights brings with it.

There is no doubt that the group sprung up on Ukrainian soil, from Ukrainian needs, and not as somebody's political conjuncture. The Soviet press presents the emergence of the group as an alien conjuncture, presents it thus with the aim of discrediting its activity and depriving the members of the group the boundless authority that it has been enjoying.

The group did not grow up in a barren place. It is preceded (without going back into past centuries) by the recent decades of an intense struggle of the Ukrainian people for their rights, for a place under the sun. We have behind us ghastly decades which were marked by millions of graves. But these graves are trampled and bespittled. And they force our children to repeat the anathema from Yuras Khmelnycky to the present day against all who did not think along the lines of Great Russia, the one, indivisible Russia; against all who thought of Ukraine outside the bounds of Russia. And this very circumstance is the reason that today our voice makes its way through individual courageous people. There are also other reasons. But we are an undying tribe of Hurons. We have not been placated. We have always stood ready for the battle, we stand ready today, and we will stand tomorrow.

We have entire Pleiades of outstanding people in prisons, camps and exile. They are well-known political activists with names known the world over: Levko Lukyanenko, Vyacheslav Chornovi Valentyn Moroz, Mykola Rudenko, Ivan Svitlychny, Yevhen Sverstyuk and others; poets-patriots: Vasyl Stus, Iryna and Ihor Kalynets, Mykhaylo Osadchy, Iryna Senyk; the artist Stefa Shabatura.

Today our people have an entire pantheon of heroes-martyrs, who have suffered in imprisonment for a quarter of a century and longer. There is not one prison or concentration camp in the immense expanses of the USSR where Ukrainian patriots do not sit among the political prisoners.

Yes, the Helsinki Group grew not in a barren place. Its first members -- L. Lukyanenko, O. Tykhy, N. Strokata, O. Meshko, I. Kandyba, P. Grigorenko, O. Berdnyk -- are former political prisoners, who before their imprisonment spoke out on these problems, albeit on different platforms.

Our present era cannot boast of an outlined goal or of constructive ideas. And it is not because they are inaccessible to our contemporary thinking. The reason lies elsewhere. We, with our national interests, are included in a system of interests of a stronger ruling nation. And from this is created an inadequacy in relations. Even in the present dissident movement, there exist and arise problems so inconformable that often we cannot come to terms.

Thus, everyone is against the assimilation of nations, but a Russian dissident does not need to address linguistic problems. A Ukrainian, Byelorussian or Lithuanian is threatened with charges of anti-Sovietism and nationalism and with imprisonment for standing up in defense of the native language in schools, institutions and the like.

A Russian, wherever he may apply, in every republic, uses his native language in higher education. A Ukrainian chokes on things Russian in his own land.

A Russian has schools, kindergartens, theaters and films in his native language everywhere; a Ukrainian can only dream of this in his own land, struggles and goes to prison with the label of nationalist.

A Russian has his own newspapers, magazines, books, technical literature and translations everywhere -- from the Far East to beyond the Carpathians. A Ukrainian, even when he has some in his native language in his native land, it is marked from above for action in the opposing direction.

And to what harms and what denationalization do migratory processes inside the country bring? Does a Russian really sense this? How can a Russian reconcile the ideas of Russian statehood with the ideas of the rights of nations to self-determination? How is it to be with local nationalism?

Against a background of universal watchwords we are like minors with local problems, but we cannot step over them. We do not have the right.

The movement for human rights, against the backdrop of contemporary partisan and political disorder, stands out in its innocence and religious-like righteousness. The ideas and methods of struggle are accepted by every unbiased person in every country that is at least to some degree constitutional. However, in the Soviet Union, despite the vociferousness of statements, declarations of the government and its propaganda, we have such a state of affairs that, in the two-year existence of the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, six of its ten founding members have been arrested and sentenced to maximum terms of imprisonment, while others are subjected to unheard-of persecution.

There were no crimes behind those imprisoned. They acted within the framework of the Soviet constitution and behind each of them the only "crime" is articles of a human rights nature, or merely membership in the group.

It may seem that nothing of substance has happened in the last two years. But there have been wrongful arrests, there have been trials criminal in their nature, there are sacrifices. This fact cannot be flooded over with even a sea of ink, cannot be muted with vociferous, empty-worded statements, or justified by any logic. The Soviet government and Communist Party of the Soviet Union have filled up their official log with yet another crime.

Thus the problems addressed by the human rights movement have not been resolved, but both they and the human rights movement itself have become brighter, more accented. The Soviet government has shown that in the USSR the Constitution has no power, the laws serve the interests of the Party, and the individual has not even the most basic rights.

The group is undoubtedly weakened, but not so the human rights movement. It has become the achievement of the widest strata of peoples of the Soviet Union, seeped into the consciousness of society, raised the ideas of the rights of a nation above all political aspirations. The seed has been planted and it will grow.

Into the ranks of the group have flowed: Vitaliy Kalynychenko, engineer; Vasyl Striltsiv, teacher; Petro Sichko, economist; Vasyl Sichko, student-journalist; Yuriy Lytvyn; Vasyl Ovsiyenko, teacher.

The future is with the human rights movement. The issues of human rights are both urgent and indispensable.

AND THE PEOPLE WILL WIN THESE RIGHTS.

Yuriy Lytvyn
Oksana Meshko
Oles Berdnyk
Ivan Kandyba
Vitaliy Kalynychenko
Vasyl Striltsiv
Petro Sichko
Vasyl Sichko
Vasyl Ovsiyenko
Nina Strokata

Translated by the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee

October 1979

# FOR THE RIGHT TO BE A UKRAINIAN

(A Statement by Ivan Hryhorovych Sokulsky,
Dnipropetrovsk, vul. Myru 3)

/Incomplete text/

I am not a politician (that is not my calling), and I have no political program... I want only one thing: self-realization as an individual. A human being has some kind of destiny in this world, beyond the "solely correct" social program that is assigned to it -- the human being -- in advance, even before its birth, by the Party and its leaders! Who has the right to take away from a human being its highest destiny, its personal calling, its spirituality -- be it even in the name of the loftiest ideas? Who could seemingly prohibit me from being myself, from being an individual?

In a community where everyone is obligated(!) to be a soulless appendage, even if to a lofty goal, where every person becomes obligated while still in diapers to adopt uncompromising atheism (godlessness) as a requisite condition for further Communist upbringing -- in such a community there is no place (nor should there be) for individuality in the full meaning of that word.

In a society where everyone until the end of his days is supposed to remain that "small screw and small cog" in the gigantic bureaucratic fly-wheel, where it is not the ends that serve man, but the reverse -- man slavishly serves the ends; where at every step we see moral devastation and decay, the terrifying soullessness of "healthy conformity," where the existence of man (as a spiritual entity) has long been in doubt -- in such a society, there is really no room for any kind of individuality, even if once in a while it were to break through the palisade of totalitarianism.

A society in which all efforts of the party-state apparatus are directed, by means of bureaucratically unpiercing objectivity and triumphant historical necessity(!) (try to express yourself against them!), towards completely choking the individuality that still smolders here and there (and this ideological goal is considered more important than economic tasks) -- such a society cannot allow me to exist as an individual even on a rudimentary level!

The first (rudimentary) condition of my existence as an individual is the right to be a Ukrainian (with all the consequences flowing therefrom). All my conscious and unconscious life testifies to the fact that I did not and do not now have such a right, a right to Ukraine. When in my twenty-fifth year I merely began to peek through the bureaucratic thickets, through the Russified assimilative environment, to my particular Fatherland -- in which I sensed the roots of my spirituality and individuality, I was immediately labeled as a "bourgeois nationalist." I was expelled from the university, and shortly thereafter, like a common criminal, I was transported to Mordovia, and then to Vladimir Central Prison. I became convinced from my own experience that for a Ukrainian, be he even a Marxist three times over, there is nothing here but prisons or "psychiatric hospitals."

I do not have the right to a private (intimate) life -- my every step and breath are recorded.

I do not have the right to keep diaries -- they are confiscated (regardless of what they are about).

I do not have the right not to conform my views to the official doctrine: I must adhere to the solely correct philosophical system -- Marxism -- or else they charge me with anti-Sovietism.

I do not have the right to creativity (not to speak of the right of publication) -- they will charge me with "preparing and keeping" /anti-Soviet propaganda/ and, at the first opportunity, also with "disseminating slanderous fabrications which denigrate our Soviet way of life and order."

I do not have the right to a job compatible with my interests and qualifications (in a country where officially there are no prohibitions on a profession!).

In a Dnipropetrovsk that is completely Russified, I do not have the right to converse in my native Ukrainian language; I do not hear it on the streets or in institutions.

I do not have the right to fatherhood, for how can one be called a father when he does not have the opportunity to give his child that which is basic and most elemental -- a Fatherland; when one's child does not have the opportunity to attend a Ukrainian kindergarten (there is no such thing!), and then a Ukrainian school (there is not one in our area either); what is the use of talking about a Ukrainian institution of higher learning.

The Soviet citizen in reality has the right only to "reproduction" of the population (if not of a "work force"). The anonymous bureaucrat who supervises upbringing looks upon a child solely as an object of social manipulation, as if, besides the qualities useful in future members of a totalitarian society, there should be nothing else in an individual (and does not even think of coordinating his principles of upbringing with the ideas of the parents). When the attack on an individual as a spiritual entity begins yet in childhood, in kindergarten, and does not cease until his last day, then is it any wonder that everywhere we see only deep moral decay and a return to the wild state!

The attack on elemental human rights was especially noticeably strengthened after the enactment of the new so-called "Constitution of the Extensive Building of Communism." But what can one expect from a constitution that triumphantly strengthens an obviously unconstitutional act -- the self-proclamation of the ruling party as the eternal ruling party (quote). According to this unheard-of law all citizens of the USSR suddenly became serfs of the CPSU (the power of the Communist Party over them was fixed forever, and by constitutional means!). "Swinish three times over," Ivan Franko would have called such a constitution.

-- All right! You have arrived!!! -- one would want to say to the serf-masters of the twentieth century.

-- Where to now?!

-- "Our goal is Communism" -- the slogans and banners shout mockingly in my face. And they're written in my name as well! But who's going to ask the opinion of a mute serf? Even if he dares have his own personal convictions!

The triumph of a Communism built like this, even if it does win out, would be the end of all -- of man as a spiritual entity. There would really be no place farther to go.

I see the triumph of Communism of this style (it is being built) not in the tall buildings, new machines, new factories. I see it in the most important, the foremost -- in the individual, who is ever more becoming suppressed by the frenzied advance of technology and bureaucracy. I see it in the vise of ideological regulations and orthodox Sovietism (which is nothing other than modified Stalinism), the individual being so weakened and fragmented that it seems that soon he can really be neglected (to be sure, in the name of a great goal). The orthodox bureaucrat obviously sees the triumph of Communism as the complete erosion from the individual of everything human. Only then will all problems really be solved once and for all: when it will be possible to rule the masses without impediment like marionettes in a puppet theater -- bringing up, directing, manipulating. For such Communist oligarchs this, in fact, is the ideal way to achieve absolute power (modern absolutism).

For me, as an individual, such a society is a knife at the throat. I will say directly -- I dread the triumph of your Communism, as the triumph of a boor, of primitivism and soullessness, as the apocalyptic end. To me Communism (the kind that is being proposed for us) and the Apocalypse are one and the same.

One can be silent about matters which do not concern one. But when it comes to the fundamental -- to the foundations of our spirituality, to the to-be-or-not-to-be of man as an individual, here silence is synonymous with betrayal of oneself, a shameful retreat from the field of battle.

-- There is no place to retreat further!

-- Further -- I am alone!

By waiving my civil rights, I would cease to be myself and nothing would be left for me but to go back -- to the "small screw and small cog" that have been utterly degraded by Communist oligarchs, to reject my individuality, achieved at such a high cost. For all that, possibly, they would pay well with all sorts of benefits, or at least with "no prison." But when for "no prison" it is necessary to pay with dignity, honor, betrayal of oneself, with Ukraine -- then I reject such benefits.

Everything, the whole, finds room in the part. Spiritually, the people, and then all of humanity, find room in individuality. Thus, by defending my human rights, guaranteed to me by the Declaration of Human Rights (which was ratified also by the Soviet Union), I -- within the bounds of my limited powers, to be sure -- would promote the general recovery of my twice enslaved people. Because, say what you will, a human being, besides all else, is a social being, and the gain of one immediately becomes the gain of all (just as a loss, the degradation of individuality noticeably reflects on the moral health of society).

Precisely because of this, I, as a citizen, do not have the right to be silent, to not speak with full voice about the deep chasm of moral nothingness and spiritual vacuum that is being dug beneath our feet.

Look around! .

There is nowhere else to retreat!...

Ivan Sokulsky
/Member, Ukrainian Helsinki Group/

1979

Translated by the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee

To: The UN Commission on Human Rights
Amnesty International
The Committee for a Free World
Helsinki Groups in the US and other countries

From: Vyacheslav Chornovil, Member, Ukrainian Helsinki Group

AN APPEAL

Today it is a year since the time of my most recent arrest and since I was placed among hooligans, thieves, and murderers, in the role of a hostage of the Soviet order. I know of no real actions aimed at securing my release and the rehabilitation of my name (perhaps this is due to my total isolation from the outside world). This forces me once again to turn for help to the world democratic community.

I am not a victim of a mistake on the part of the courts or the investigative organs, nor of arbitrariness on the part of local authorities. The provocation staged April 9, 1980, in Yakutia, where I was completing a term of political exile, and the subsequent fabrication of a filthy criminal case must be viewed not in isolation, but only together with other similar facts and in the context of the CPSU's international and internal policies of the past few years.

The failure of the Soviet variety of the politics of detente as a verbal screen for an unprecedented build-up of military might and ideological infiltration, the invasion of Afghanistan, and the consequent increasing of international tensions -- all of this inevitably led to an advance of reaction inside the country as well. The occasional or localized blows against the legal opposition (in 1972 I was arrested as a result of one such campaign of persecution in Ukraine) grew into an all-out pogrom in 1979-80. Its victims were, first of all, the activists of the Helsinki movement in the USSR. The Moscow Helsinki Group was devastated (Velikanova, Landa, Nyekipelov, Bakhmin, Podrabinek, and others). The moral leader of the opposition, Academician Sakharov, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate, was arbitrarily exiled from Moscow without trial. Even more brutal was the crackdown against Ukrainian human rights activists. Only a few of us were "lucky enough" to face straight political charges (Stus, Badzyo). Most of the activists of the Ukrainian Helsinki movement were -- with the help of *agents provocateurs* and perjurers -- placed on trial as "rapists" (Horbal), "hooligans" (Ovsiyenko, Smohytel, Sichko, Striltsiv), "drug addicts" (Lesiv), "possessors of cold-steel weapons" (Rozumny), and so on. In April 1980 came my turn: a KGB agent, sent from Ukraine, clumsily acted out a scene of "attempted rape," aided by "witnesses" from among the police, who did the apprehending; for this obvious frame-up the court declared an award of five years in a strict-regime camp for criminal offenders.

Such fictional trials not only expose the newest defensive methods of the KGB, but also show the decay and anti-popular nature of the entire Soviet judicial system. After all, before me and my colleagues of like mind, seven people were put on trial for "anti-Soviet propaganda" or "slanderous fabrications"; yet even given the total conditionality of such charges, when every critical thought was to be considered "anti-Soviet," still the judges based their decisions on specific, even if shaky, juridical grounds -- the presence of the appropriate anti-democratic articles in the Criminal Code. But now the trials against Ukrainian defenders of rights are bereft of any juridical grounds whatsoever. They are phenomena of naked arbitrariness. And whereas the *agents provocateurs* and perjurers play only supporting roles in them while the organizers remain behind the scenes, the "people's" judges, who supposedly answer only to the law, and the "people's" assessors appear as the glorified public creators of the fabrications (the role of the latter, known among the people as "the nodders," is especially degrading, inasmuch as they supposedly represent the people, not the government).

It was to this means of the CPSU's repressive policies, new in the post-Stalin era, that I tried (not for the first time) to direct the attention of the world's democratic community.

Obviously, instances of judicial reprisal and fabrication of evidence of criminal culpability (in truth, for criticism of the regime or its functionaries) occurred earlier as well. But the people who were tried in this manner were less known; they were people with whom accounts were being squared at the local level, usually without direct coordination with the top. (There are several such innocent victims of the Soviet bureaucratic machinery at the criminal camp where I am now being held, but this requires a separate narrative.) Now these same "means" are applied to known defenders of rights, to activists of the Ukrainian Helsinki movement. There is no doubt that now the operation is directed from one center -- the KGB of Ukraine -- and is cleared with the Politburo of the CC CPSU through the head of the KGB of the USSR, Politburo member Andropov.

A question arises: why was it precisely in Ukraine that they started to apply such barbaric mass means of suppressing dissent? (That I was beyond Ukraine's borders does not change the case; my fate as a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was decided not in Yakutia and not in the city of Myrny, where the provocation took place.) Because Ukraine for decades has held a sad first place in the USSR as to the scope of repression, even in times when the opposition movement there barely smoldered. They have a panicky fear of an awakening of the Ukrainian people -- the largest stateless nation of the USSR -- they are afraid of losing Ukraine, the richest part of the state. That is why for decades now the bloody sword of "proletarian internationalism" (read "militant Soviet chauvinism") has by design descended upon our heads. That is why they frighten our neighbors and our own befuddled townfolk with the bugbear of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," under which they mechanically stick every manifestation of national consciousness, from spontaneous expressions about love for one's native land, native language and culture, to attempts at reasoning out the true place of the Ukrainian people in the family of peoples of the world.

More than once Ukraine was turned into a testing range, on which various methods of persecution were tested -- large-scale, such as the artificially created famine of 1933 with its millions of human victims, and those smaller in scope, such as today's campaign of suppression and discreditation of the national-democratic opposition. It is not difficult to guess that the means of fabricating criminal cases with a political subtext is now being perfected on Ukrainian material. The expediency of holding political prisoners among common criminals, the propaganda effect of pronouncing idealistic and self-sacrificing people to be rapists or hooligans, the prospects of juridical concealment of frame-ups, are all being studied. Also being studied is the force of counteractions by the victims themselves, as well as by defenders of human rights in the USSR and the world over.

Soviet defenders of rights and the world community some time ago succeeded in effectively exposing and forcing to a minimum another such barbaric means of suppressing the opposition -- the incarceration of healthy people in closed-type psychiatric hospitals (psychiatric prisons). Whether a moral barrier will be erected against a new wave of repression in the USSR in general, and against the new sadistic method of suppressing dissent in particular, depends today on you and us together, on the consistency and persistence of our efforts.

That is why I call on international juridical and human rights organizations, as well as on the governments of democratic states, to stand up resolutely in defense of the victims of judicial frame-ups in the USSR.

If organs of Soviet propaganda or officials, in answer to your criticism, attempt to argue the juridical grounds of my sentence and similar sentences, demand that jurists from democratic countries be given the opportunity to become acquainted with the full scope of our criminal cases (and not just with made-up verdicts and tendentious excerpts). Your demands will be neither impossible nor unprecedented. For example, the US officially proposed that Soviet jurists acquaint themselves with the cases of those whom Soviet propaganda has called American political prisoners and innocent victims of the fabrications of the bourgeois Themis. Soviet journalists (for example, Andropov, a correspondent of Literaturnaya Gazeta) visit American prisons and conduct conversations with American prisoners. Why not achieve parity also in these kinds of cases?

Having suddenly become a "criminal-rapist," after fifteen years of active political opposition, two clearly political trials and ten years of bondage, I especially ask you to win permission to become acquainted specifically with the materials in my "case," which was thrown together in a far corner of the Union so clumsily that it is possible to find evidence of provocation on almost every page of the "case" file. Acquaintance with such a juridical marvel as my "case" will shed light on other, analogous, "cases" that have been thrown together at the center, although, to be sure, with utmost care. The only precondition from my side would be that the materials in my "case" be presented for perusal in their entirety -- from the first page to the last -- and that I would be able to determine that the documents have not been doctored. (The idea that my "case" has been "improved" retroactively came up because for over one-half year not even local Yakut lawyers have been given access to the documents of my "case" or to me, which gives the lie to the right to a defense, supposedly guaranteed by law.

If I, Mykola Horbal, Vasyl Ovsiyenko, Yaroslav Lesiv, Petro Rozumny, the Moscow scientist Aleksandr Bolonkin and other former political prisoners -- today "criminal offenders" -- have been sentenced correctly, Soviet leaders have no one to fear. This is all the more so since, formally, we are dealing not with specific cases that have a bearing on state interests, but with allegedly common criminal offenses, which are deemed as such the world over and the determination of which is based on identical or wholly similar juridical standards.

Asking you for help, I am aware of how difficult it is to give it in today's international situation. But it is my deepest conviction that the fate of individual people should not be forgotten even when there is a growing concern for the fate of the world. After all, it is not a world for its own sake, it is a world of PEOPLE, a world where every individual is unique and made in the likeness of God.

Vyacheslav Chornovil

April 9, 1981

Translated by the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee

WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS
СВІТОВИЙ КОНГРЕС ВІЛЬНИХ УКРАЇНЦІВ
HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
КОМІСІЯ ПРАВ ЛЮДИНИ
2118-A Bloor Street West Toronto, Ontario, Canada M6S 1M8 Tel.: (416) 762-1108

STATEMENT SUBMITTED TO THE CSCE COMMISSION ON BEHALF OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS by CHRISTINA ISAJIW, COORDINATOR.

I would like to stress several areas of concern which have repeatedly been pointed out by the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitors and other repressed Ukrainians during the last few years. These areas of concern are: the invalid and very ill political prisoners; persistent psychiatric abuse and its widespread use as a threat tactic; emigration and the right to leave and return to one's country; persistent violation of postal laws.

It should be pointed out that these topics and pertinent documentation are meant to supplement other material already presented by the testimony of the four witnesses on November 16, 1981. Although abuses in the aforementioned areas exist throughout the USSR, the documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group are singled out in order to focus attention on the special problem of inequality of Ukraine and Ukrainians in the Soviet Union. This fact was brought out most eloquently by the Moskow Helsinki Group when it acknowledged and welcomed the formation of the Ukrainian Group on november 9, 1976, and voiced it's formal support:

> "We would like to point out that people who attempt to collect and publicize information about human rights violations in Ukraine -- especially anyone who wants to give such information to governments -- are subjected to barriers which violate both the letter and the spirit of the Helsinki Accords.
>
> Although Ukraine formally is a full-fledged member of the United Nations, it was never invited to participate in the Helsinki conference; almost no representatives of the Western press are based in its capital; in effect, there are no diplomatic representatives able to receive such information. It is futile to sent through the mail information about violations of the final act. We have proof that such letters never reach their addresses. Under these circumstances, the formation of

> the Ukrainian Helsinki Group is an act of great bravery. On its first day, there was a bandid-like attack on Ukrainian Group leader Mykola Rudenko's apartment and Group member Oksana Meshko was wounded. We note the possibility that criminal methods (against which it will be difficult to get legal redress) will be used against a Group which is in strict compliance with the final act. We ask public opinion to speak out in defense of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and to follow its fate. The Moskow Helsinki Group will assist the Ukrainian Group in giving information to correspondents and representatives of the Helsinki signatory states."

The Moscow Group has from the very beginning anticipated the special problems which the Ukrainian Monitors would face. They have consistently reported on the situation in Ukraine, and today we have ample documentation which proves them right. I will use selected documentation provided by both the Moscow and Ukrainian Helsinki Groups to discuss point by point the aforementioned human rights violations.

I. THE INVALID AND VERY ILL POLITICAL PRISONERS:

In a number of cases political prisoners who have reported ill and asked to be given treatment and relieved from work have been treated as malingerers and punished. The treatment of Yuriy Lytvyn is representative. In 1975, while serving his sentence, Lytvyn had surgery for a perforated ulcer. In 1977, he asked to be released "with obligatory induction to labor" (Art. 44-2 of the USSR Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation as amended on 8 February 1977. This procedure for early release is known as "conditional release from place of imprisonment with obligatory induction of the convicted person to labor." This measure is applied by a court and on the recommendation of the MVD administrations of the camps and prisons. The person's release is made conditional on his or her going to work at a job assigned by the authorities and in a place designated by them and that at that place he or she will be housed in a communal dwelling with other convicted individuals conditionally released in this way, kept under police supervision and restricted in other ways.) because of his ill health, but the camp doctor recommended against this. The doctor also refused Lytvyn a special medical diet on the grounds that he was "absolutely healthy". Lytvyn was put in the punishment-isolation cell for 10 days for "simulating" illness. While he was there his ulcer perforated. He was made to finish his term in the punishment cell, and from there he was taken to hospital. Lytvyn was again sent to the punishment-isolation cell the following month for submitting a complaint to the local Communist Party authorities alleging that a 20-year-old fellow inmate had died of a heart attack without receiving any medical assistance.

Six months prior to his latest arrest on August 6, 1979, Lytvyn underwent two other serious operations for perforated ulcer and an intestinal disorder. In spite of this fact and his very poor state of health, he is forced to perform hard labor, and has not received proper medical treatment. His food rations and diet do not conform to the medical standards prescribed for persons in his condition. Because of his extremely weakened condition and avitaminosis he is loosing his teeth and his eyesight is failing rapidly. Moreover, he is being constantly terrorized by common criminals who are set upon him as a further physical and mental form of punishment designed to exhaust and dehumanize him, in the hope of forcing him to renounce his beliefs. Furthermore, he is fatigued by frequent transfers to various camps. In the nine months of his imprisonment, he has been transferred three times. These transfers were difficult and took long periods of time, causing him extreme hardships. In August 1980, his mother began petitioning for his release on the grounds of extremely poor health. To date his condition has not changed. In September he was once again transported to an unknown destination. Lytvyn's health is in a perilous state.

Raisa Rudenko in one of her many appeals on behalf of her husband, Mykola Rudenko, writes in an open letter: "My husband has been classified as an invalid of the second class as a result of the wounds he sustained in the Red Army during the great patriotic war. He has already undergone two operations. Since August of 1980, however, he has been forced to work, with the full knowledge of camp's medical commission, in complete disregard of the seriousness of the injury to his spinal cord which only further aggravates his condition. I sent a telegram in the summer of 1980 with the intention of bringing this matter to your attention. But I was called in by the KGB and threatened with reprisals. A Capitan Kotovenko put it quite clearly: 'This is our answer to the telegram you sent to Moscow'." She writes further in this open letter to Brezhnev, dated 25 December 1980: "During the two hour visit which I was granted with my husband in November 1980, I was taken aback by his condition. He was wracked with pain, unable to sit or stand. It was excruciating for me to have to look on at such suffering." She ends this letter: "I appeal to you, Leonid Illich, in the hope that as representative of the most humane Soviet state, you will not allow a poet to be treated in such a manner." We now all know what answer Raisa Rudenko received: a 10 year imprisonment and exile term for her efforts.

Space does not allow to give extensive examples. I feel very strongly, however, that we must keep in mind that these are human beings whose suffering we are striving to alleviate and that we are not merely noting statistics. All one has to do is to go through the documentation compiled on the Ukrainian Helsinki Group alone, to see how ill **OLEKSANDER BERDNYK** is; ZINOVIY KRASIVSKY, who has been imprisoned of and on since 1947 for almost 22 years, crippled in an accident while working in the mines of Karaganda, underwent prolonged forcible treatments with neuroleptic drugs in various psychiatric hospitals, his health now seriously impaired, he is still serving the remainder of his lengthy prison sentence in a labor camp even though he was declared an invalid of the second category. It is feared that this new term of imprisonment will be fatal for him.

Some facts should be brought out here concerning Article 37 of the RSFSR Corrective Labor Code. I will not quote nor go to extensive explanations of this code; most politicians interested in its details can find ample documentation and examples of its abuses in Amnesty International reports, particularly its 1975 and 1980 publications: Prisoners of Conscience in the USSR: Their Treatment and Conditions. Some main points should be noted, however. According to Art. 37 of the RSFSR Corrective Labor Code, prisoners are to be assigned work "with consideration of their work capacity." The official Commentary to the Fundamentals of Corrective Labor Legislation elaborates:

> "Consideration of the convict's work capacity is obligatory for the administration... An insufficient workload, and even more so overtaxing work correspond neither to the educative nor the economic goals of labor, nor to considerations of health. Putting convicts to overtaxing labor would contradict the law's position that the execution of punishment does not have as a goal the infliction of physical suffering." 1

Medical commissions administered by the MVD annually examine prisoners to decide their fitness for work. These medical commissions have guidelines which do not, however, encourage generosity even to ill or aged prisoners, and even disabled persons are assigned work which is suited to their "residual fitness for work." Although according to the official Commentary to the F. of C.L.L. "labor is a universal means of education for people", in practice, the prisoners' work in no way leads to the enhancement of their consciousness or to their "reform", as called for by the labor theory. Prisoners' work is a form of punishment with a good deal of physical suffering. Art. 37 also states that "where possible" prisoners are to be assigned work taking into account their professional or other specialty. The law allows corrective labor administrations considerable discretion to neglect this principle. Therefore, to date, not a single Ukrainian political prisoner worked at jobs which even remotely related to their qualifications, even though such jobs were available.

Regarding invalids, the capacity for work and the extent of possible punishments must be determined by the administration on the basis of decisions

1. Commentary to the Fundamentals of Corrective Labor Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics, Moscow, 1972, page 102

made by the VTEK commission (Medical Commission for Determination of Disability) which examines all political prisoners once a year. The decisions of these VTEK commissions are as a rule subject to recommendations by the MVD and KGB officials, and often to prejudiced reports from the camp's head ~~physician. Group I invalids are the paralyzed,~~ blind and disabled with malfunctioning pelvic organs, like OKSANA POPOVYCH, born 30 January 1925, first arrested at the age of 18, servrd 10 years in a labor camp the conditions of which were so harsh that she became a complete invalid. She is able to walk only with the aid of crutches. She was again arrested in November 1974, sentenced to 8 years of strict regimen labor camp and 5 years of exile, made to work and fulfill norms beyond her capability as an invalid. IRYNA SENYK, born in 1926, during her first incarceration (1944-54) contracted tuberculosis of the spine and underwent a very complex spinal surgery, as well as other no less complicated operations. As a result of these she became an invalid, finds working very painful and difficult, and was officially declared an invalid of the second category. Invalids of this category are only required to work if they feel up to it. By making her fulfill work norms under threat of punishment, the authorities are obviously negating her invalid status. She is incapable of working ans at any time could loose the little mobility she has. When she is sent into exile for 3 years she will be incapable of earning a living or even providing for her daily needs (exiles are aerved in remote regions with severe climate, where walking is a must, water usually is carried long distances, wood is chopped for one's warmth, etc.).

YAROSLAV LESIV, first arrested in 1967 and sentenced to 6 years of strict regimen labor camp and 5 years of exile lost most of his sight during that time. He was sentanced in 1980 to two more years of imprisonment. MYKOLA MATUSEVYCH is reported to be in very poor health; OKSANA MESHKO is a frail 76 year old woman; YURIY SHUKHEVYCH has spent most of his adult life in

Soviet prisons and labor camps and suffers from a variety of ailments; DANYLO SHUMUK who has now spent 35 years in Soviet imprisonment aside from various infirmities of old age, is suffering from severe stomach ulcers which have been reported for years, and a general nervous disorder; VASYL STUS was treated especially harshly in labor camp, denied medical care, and two months after a stomach operation his special diet was discontinued. He is still in very poor health.

There are constant reports that prisoners who are ill or invalid are required to do heavy work or piece-work whether it is suited to them or not. When prisoners refuse to work because of ill-health, the camp administration imposes various punishments on them. From this it can be concluded that not only is the invalidity group not a factor in securing easier conditions for political prisoners, but it does not even protect them from disciplinary persecution.

We have also received information on the situation in a camp for disabled prisoners in s. Markota, Sofievsky raion, Dnepropetrovskya oblast (uchr. YaZ-308/45). The camp contains mostly Group 2 invalids, except for Brigade 1C, where Group 1 disabled are concentrated (the paralyzed, blind, disabled with malfunctioning pelvic regions). Practically all the prisoners areforced to work; the norms are beyond the strength of the disabled persons. Beatings of the prisoners are an everyday occurance; one of the inspecting commissions noted that administration officials deliberately knock out prisoners' gold teeth (no legal action was reported). Beatings for complaints or attempts to publish information on conditions in the camp are especially freequent. In 1976-1977 15 prisoners died as a result of beatings.

The names of some of the administration officials are known: deputy head of internal discipline Major Godinnik, operations unit officers Lieutenant Khivrenko and Captain Yanev, brigade head Lieutenant Yatsenko, medical unit head Valentina Abdulovna Shiryaeva. We have also received reports that in addition to the strict regime camp for the disabled in Markota, there are other camps for the disabled: intensified regime in the Donetsk region, special regime in selo Yefenovka, Vorosholovgrad region, and a camp for tubercular patients in Kherson region.

## II. EMIGRATION AND THE RIGHT TO LEAVE ONE'S COUNTRY AND RETURN.

The problem of emigration is a very complex one for Ukrainians. On the one hand there are long lists of Ukrainians wanting to leave the life of persecution in the USSR, like OLEKSANDER BERDNYK who has gone to great lengths to obtain permission to emmigrate to the U.S.A. On June 26, 1976, he declared a hunger strike in Moscow when his visa application was rejected. On September 9, 1976, he appealed to President Ford to grant him American citizenship and to help him obtain a visa. He made a similar appeal to President Carter on November 17, 1976, stating that life in the Soviet Union was unbearable for him.

IVAN KANDYBA who has relatives in Detroit, Michigan, and has repeatedly applied for emigration from the USSR, has beensystematically refused;
OLHA HEYKO, the wife of imprisoned Helsinki Group member Mykola Matusevych, applied to emigrate in the fall of 1979 and was arrested in March 1980 and sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment;
MYKOLA HORBAL who has a sister in New York City, and whose latest arrest and criminal charges are a direct result of his demands for emigration;
VITALIY KALYNYCHENKO who renounced his Soviet citizenship, has no family, all ties with him are being blocked, the severity of his sentence (15 years- his sentence ends in 1994) puts him in dire need of outside help;
ZINOVIY KRASIVSKY- an invalid of the second category with a history of heart ailments and complications from injuries to the head and spinal cord, applied to emigrate in late summer 1979, his wife has also applied

to emigrate during that time (she has relatives in Cleveland, Ohio), both attempts were refused by the Soviet authorities;

LEV LUKYANENKO renounced his Soviet citizenship and declared his desire to to emigrate. He repeatedly underscored the descriminatory practice of denying ethnic Ukrainians the right to leave the USSR. The immediate cause of his recent arrest was his attempt to emigrate.;

OKSANA MESHKO, 76 years old, who after many years of imprisonment and forcible psychiatric treatment is now serving a 5 year exile sentence. She has repeatedly applied for emigration and was refused;

REVEREND VASYL ROMANYUK who has just completed his 10 years of imprisonment and exile, and asked repeatedly for permission to leave the USSR, appealed to numerous organizations and governments to aid him in this quest;

IRYNA SENYK, an invalid due to having suffered from tuberculosis of the spine, having served a total of 16 years of imprisonment, she now faces 3 years of exile under very harsh conditions. She has a sister in England and has repeatedly applied for permission to emigrate; all requests were denied by the Soviet authorities;

STEFANIA SHABATURA, having served an 8 year term in labor camp and exile, she now lives under surveillnce, with only a temporary permit to reside in Lviv, "subject to her behavior"- meaning her human rights activities. She renounced her Soviet citizenship and has applied to emigrate;

YURIY SHUKHEVYCH, who by the end of his term in 1987 will have spent atotal of 35 years in prisons and exile, has had many invitations from individuals and organizations who are working to facilitate his emigration;

DANYLO SHUMUK, who in 1987, when he will be 73 years old and finishing his latest sentence, will have spent some 43 years in Soviet prisons and labor camps. Amnesty International, his relatives in Canada and many other human rights organizations and concerned individuals have been frustrated in their efforts to have this sick old man leave the USSR;

The SICHKO FAMILY, of which PETRO, VASYL and VOLODYMYR are now imprisoned, have all renounced their Soviet citizenship and applied for emigration. These are only a few of the many persons and whole families of religious believers and other human rights activists, Ukrainians, who have been unsuccessful in their long term efforts to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Lately there have been increasing numbers of arrests of Ukrainians who are sentenced on trumped-up "criminal" charges essentially because they apply for emigration.

It has to be emphasized, however, that in dealing with the question of emigration of Ukrainians from the USSR, the US Government must look at two separate realities. (1) There are those want to be reunited with their families and who have legitimate claims on those grounds. These Ukrainians are in the minority, but emigration even for them has been almost non-existent to date. (2) The more important reality is the fact that emigration for Ukrainians has profound social, politacal and economic causes. Ukrainians want an implementation of human rights and they do not want to emigrate as a whole. The previously cited cases of repressed individuals serve to illustrate this point even more poignantly. These people of various professions, beliefs and orientation have reached out to the West only as a last resort. They have suffered too much and feel they can endure no more. But were the Human Rights Accords implemented, we are told that these people would choose to stay. Most Ukrainians do not want to emigrate, they apply for emigration because of severe cultural, religious, economic and other human rights repressions.

All Ukrainian dissidents who have been able to leave the USSR attest to the fact that they have done so only because they feared for their lives or the leves of their family members. Therefore the problem of emigration from the Soviet Union cannot be narrowed down to the issue of reunification of families nor is it limited to the Jews. It must be put into the context of human rights and not viewed as a "better than nothing achievement." The question of Ukrainians and other ethnic groups in the Soviet Union must be considered separately from the question of Jewish emigration to Israel. Most Jews who apply for emigration are not human rights activists and their sole concern is emigration. In the last few years data points to the fact that a great number of Ukrainians (if not the majority) who have finally been able to leave the USSR have done so through Israeli mediation. The Soviet authorities impose on their Helsinki partners, as well as their own citizens, their own narrow interpretation of this right. They would reduce this problem to one of family reunification and restrict it on the basis of ethnic origin.

For Ukrainians the right to choose one's country of residence is a fundamental human right. Because the West has been placing a great deal of emphasis on emigration, it has allowed the Soviet authorities to play a free game of closimg or opening the spigot, depending on the pressures and stakes at hand. Allowing sometimes more and then fewer Jews to emigrate, the Soviets create the impression that they are fulfilling their international obligations. The rest of the USSR population is denied even this narrow and arbitrary route. What is more, the West is then placated into believing that at least some progress in the implementation of human rights in the USSR is met, and that Western governments should not push for more, lest even this is stopped in retaliation. A bluff to this cat and mouse game must be called. Despite the moral significance of Jewish repatriation, this issue certainly does not cover the entire problem of emigration of ethnic minorities from the USSR, it certainly does very little to help the numerous Jewish "refuseniks'' to whom the Soviet authorities continue to deny exit visas, and totally beclouds the most important problem: the blatant violations in the USSR of all human rights of which the imprisoned Helsinki Monitors are the most immediate example.

## III. PERSISTENT PSYCHIATRIC ABUSE AND ITS WIDESPREAD USE AS A THREAT TACTIC.

Documentation in this area is so voluminous that I will include only three.

The appeal of OKSANA MESHKO speaks for itself(Appended). What she does not make explicit is the fact that has recently come up time and again: a dissiden who is forcibly placed in a psychiatric institution lives under constant threat of being forcibly placed in such an institution again. ZINOVIY KRASIVSK IVAN SOKYLSKY, VASYL SICHKO and others who have undergone psychiatric "examinations and treatment" have recieved unequivocal warnings that resumption of human rights activities would result in long term imprisonment in mental asylyms.

The arrest of DR, MYKOLA PLAKHOTNYUK on 6 September 1981 deserves special attention. He was born 8 May 1936, first arrested 13 January 1972 during the mass arrests of Ukrainians, charged under Art. 62, ruled not responsible and spent almost 9 years in various psychiatric prison hospitals and mental institutions. After his release 10 December 1980, the Soviet authorities continued to persecute him. On 8 April 1981 he was severely beaten on a Kiev street as a result of which he sustained serious spinal injuries (fractures of the transverse vertebrae of his spine). The police then ordered him to leave Kiev, where he was living at his brother's home, and made him move to Cherkassy. This latest arrest was carried out in Cherkassy, where Dr. Plakhotnyuk was attending a course to raise his qualifications. He was charged with homosexuality (Art. 122 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code) and sent again to a psychiatric hospital for examination. In addition to his poor health and spinal injuries, Dr. Plakhotnyuk suffers from tuberculosis which he contracted during his imprisonment.
Appended find two other documents dealing with ANATOLY LUPYNIS and ALEXEI NIKITIN.

The disappearances of Ukrainian inmates from Soviet Psychiatric asylums is also an alarming development. A report of the Working Commission for the Investigation of Psychiatric Abuses for Political Purposes revealed that in the last few years over a dozen Ukrainian inmates in psychiatric asylums have disappeared without a trace. Relatives and friends were not told of their fates and they do not know their whereabouts. Appended find a paetial list.

## IV. PERSISTENT VIOLATIONS OF POSTAL LAWS.

Much has been said about the continuing practice by the Soviet government to block, detain and confiscate mail bound for individuals in the Soviet Union. Recent information shows that the USSR Roreign Parcels Department has a list of persons to whom parcels from abroad must not be delivered and a list of persons abroad, from whom parcels are also not to be delivered. Among these are many Ukrainians. Zinoviy Antonyuk can serve as a good example of a person who's name appears on such a list. In addition to blocking mail from abroad, the prison administration frequently uses national or religious pretexts for confiscating or withholding correspondence. A letter from Z. Antonyuk dated 1 September 1976 to his wife was confiscated by the administration of the Vladimir prison because it contained a quotation in Ukrainian from Heredotus. As a result of this patent Ukrainophobia, Antonyuk's correspondence was interrupted for a whole year. His letter of 2 January 1978 was simply stolen on the pretext that it had to be translated. All enquiries concerning that letter remained unanswered. It has been also documented that camp administrations hold back letters to non-Russian prisoners for several weeks.

Our main concern regarding mail to Ukrainians sent from Western countries is that personal mail, particalarly matters such as "vyzovs" are confiscated. This matter should be repeatedly protested until some positive changes occur.

In conclusion, it is imperarive that continuous attention be drawn to all these human rights violations by the US Government and all other Western governments, signatories to the Hesinki Final Act. This means that the US Government must bring these violations to the attention of the Soviet Government at any and every possible occasion. This also means that the world public, including the people in the Soviet Union must be continuously informed of the West's abhorrense of these violations.

I underscore the word continuous because the Soviet Government responds only to persistent efforts, for it percieves seriousness of intent only in repeated and unswerving actions. I further propose that such a policy is in the interest of the United States. Not only is this in the interest of the Helsinki process to which the US is committed, but also central to a foreign policy which aims at long range objectives.

Any US long range foreign policy not based on the continuous and vigorous support of Human Rights is bound to fail. The only factor which today makes Americans credible to the disadvantaged peoples of the world is the American defence of Human Rights.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY
THE HELSINKI GUARANTEES FOR UKRAINE COMMITTEE, WASH., D.C. and
SMOLOSKYP, ELLICOTT CITY, MARYLAND

## ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
## OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

### A Statement

Birthdays are joyous occasions, celebrations of the beginning of new life, new hope. Such an occasion is the fifth anniversary of the birth of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, founded in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, November 9, 1976.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group's emergence reaffirmed that the Ukrainian people's movement for national and human rights was alive, that it had only temporarily been suppressed by the savage KGB onslaught of 1972-73. The signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki, on August 1, 1975, brought hope to the peoples of Eastern Europe for a new future of peace, justice and respect for human rights. And the Ukrainian Helsinki Group eloquently stated the claim of the 50 million people of Ukraine to full participation in the Helsinki process.

Yet, some would suggest that we ought not be celebrating the anniversary of the Group's birth, as much as mourning its passing: after all, 23 of its 37 members are imprisoned, four are in exile, one has died, and not one remains active and at liberty in Ukraine today. We would be mourning if the KGB had succeeded in forcing Mykola Rudenko to renounce his ideals and to disband the Group he founded and headed. But Rudenko has not been broken by its physical and psychological torture and pressure, including the recent arrest and imprisonment of his wife Raisa. He has endured even the torment that his old war wound causes him, something the KGB tried to exploit by denying him medical attention. We would be mourning if the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group had faltered, had denounced their activity. But they also, every man and woman among them, have remained steadfast. All have willingly paid the price of their commitment, carrying the ideals of the Group with them to the labor camps amidst Mordovia's cold snows or into Siberian exile. Several of them brought these ideals to the West after being expatriated, and have formed the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, with a mandate to continue its work.

Yes, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group lives! So let us not mourn, let us rejoice, just like we remember Gen. Petro Grigorenko rejoicing when, in Washington in 1978, he heard that Mykola Matusevych and Myroslav Marynovych had been sentenced, after a long pre-trial detention, to maximum terms of imprisonment and exile. With tears rolling down his cheeks, Gen. Grigorenko rejoiced, because the news meant that — in his words — "the youngest members of the Group had endured."

Are there any concrete achievements to celebrate? What is the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's record over the past five years?

The Group set for itself the goal of monitoring the Soviet government's compliance with the human rights provision of the Helsinki Accords. In its documents, compiled under the most difficult of circumstances, it irrefutably exposed the regime's mass and cynical violations of the national and human rights of the Ukrainian people on their own land.

The Group declared its intent to raise the level of legal consciousness in Ukraine, that is, the frame of mind that unhesitatingly accepts the proposition that laws, whether they be the constitutions of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act, are real and binding, and that man has the right to their protection, even from his own government. It succeeded in building this consciousness, mainly by its own example, by its own scrupulous adherence to the letter and spirit of the law, which contrasted sharply with the Soviet regime's wanton disregard for its own laws and for the international agreements it had signed.

The third main task that the Ukrainian Helsinki Group placed before itself is manifestly evident in the questions we see repeated throughout its documents: By what rights, by what strange measure of justice, was Ukraine — a nation of 50 million people, a member of the UN and other international organizations, a world economic power — excluded from the conference at Helsinki and from the process that followed it? By what right were the Ukrainian people, a people who have suffered as much as any in history, deprived of the promises of peace and security that are in the Helsinki Final Act? How could the security of Europe be enhanced by the exclusion of one of the continent's largest countries from the CSCE process? And whose interests are served by the almost total isolation of Ukraine from the international community?

In document after document the Ukrainian Helsinki Group stated the case for Ukraine's full and independent participation in the Helsinki process and in the life of the international community of nations, and stated it with such power and eloquence that the reasonableness and validity are unassailable.

Yet, the Group's arguments, their forcefulness notwithstanding, seemingly had a very limited effect. The present participants of the Helsinki process, including the Western countries, still find it almost impossible to rid themselves of the notion of Ukraine as a "province," "a region of Russia," or its "breadbasket," and to see it as a nation with a 1000- year-old history, as a people with their own language, customs and culture, and as a European country whose exclusion from international affairs is a gross anomaly.

But there is also a notable, if limited, success, a spark of hope. It is in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's relations with the Moscow Helsinki Group, in the common cause they made in defense of human rights in the USSR, with the independence of the Kiev group understood and the rights of the Ukrainian people to a destiny of their own acknowledged.

And there is one more triumph. The Helsinki Accords gave rise to a ferment in Eastern Europe, to a genuine hope for renewal, by individuals and nations alike. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group was the Ukrainian people's manifestation of that hope. Like Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia and KOR in Poland, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was a child of those accords. That the results are so different in Poland and in Ukraine today is surely not the fault of the Group. It was strong and steadfast, its members courageous and self-sacrificing. It could not have done more. The circumstances were vastly different, the KGB's reaction infinitely harsher, crushing not only the Ukrainian Helsinki Group but also the fledgling free trade movement in the USSR, which was strongest in Ukraine. The Ukrainian masses were not yet ready, not yet fully free from the fear instilled in them by decades of terror and from the periodic campaigns aimed at obliterating the Ukrainian identity. And the West's response was different: compare, for example, the media coverage received by the worker's movement in Poland to the almost total news blackout on the activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and events in Ukraine.

Our own Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee will also be marking a fifth birthday soon. Our organization was formed on November 23, 1976, soon after we learned of the creation of the Kiev group. Our purpose was not to try to represent the Group, nor to claim for ourselves any of its mandate, but simply to aid it in any way we could and to make sure that its eloquent voice was heard far and wide. This we did, by translating the Group's documents that reached us and disseminating them and the Group's message.

At that time, five years ago, we had asked ourselves: If not us, then who? If not now, then when?

Over the past five years, we have come to know the Group, developed a feeling of kinship with its members, and understood and shared their ideals. We suffered over not being able to do more to aid their struggle and to ease their plight.

We know that for a while there will be no more new documents to translate. But we know that there is much work left that we can do, even while the Group has been silenced in Ukraine. Much needs to be done to convince the Western public, Western governments, and especially the Western media, of the legitimacy of the Ukrainian people's claim to the full range of human and national rights. We know that we can do it and that we must, so that future appeals by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group will fall on more fertile soil. This pledge is our birthday gift to the Group.

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Group's birth we extend our thanks to all those who stood up in its defense, especially Members of Congress, members of the US delegation to the Madrid Conference, and the members and staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, whose dedication to the integrity of the Helsinki process has been inspiring.

Finally, we turn to those to whom the Ukrainian Helsinki Group appealed on more than one occasion — to "people of good will" throughout the world. Do not forget the Group, do not let its cause die, for it saw you as the last best hope in the struggle against tyranny.

November 9, 1981

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Washington, D.C.

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## VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN AND NATIONAL RIGHTS AND REPRESSION OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP IN UKRAINE

Statement of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America to the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

On behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), we submit a statement on the occasion of the Fifth Anniversary of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in Ukraine, dealing with the savage and unrelentless persecution of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the Ukrainian people in general.

Even before the Final Act went into effect, a series of important international agreements and covenants, as well as the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights issued on December 10, 1948, has long been in operation. Moreover, both the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR are signatories to these international covenants, but neither has lived up to its commitments.

In consequence, the Ukrainian people in their own centuries-old land are deprived of all basic human and national rights and fundamental freedoms as a result of the anti-Ukrainian policy of the Soviet government.

Relentless Persecution

The destruction of human and national rights in Ukraine is not a

Member: National Captive Nations Committee (NCNC)
American Council for World Freedom (ACWF)

new feature of Soviet Russian policies in Ukraine. In a Memorandum written in the summer of 1979 and sent to the U.N. General Assembly, 18 Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR (among them six founding members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in 1976) described the tragic persecution in Ukraine and demanded that the colonial status of Ukraine be placed on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly and that the U.N. "Committee of 24 on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" implement this U.N. resolution with respect to Ukraine.

In the lengthy document, these intrepid Ukrainian patriots stated, among other things:

> "...Ukraine became a constituent part of Russia not of the free will of the Ukrainian people but as a consequence of the armed victory of Russia over Ukraine, i.e., the aggressive physical destruction of the nationally conscious intelligentsia, of all Ukrainian political parties and of the more prosperous segments of the population. All Ukrainian state organs were destroyed step by step and in their place an administration of occupation was organized. By this means all of Ukraine's national existence became subordinated to Russia..."

With the unprovoked aggression of the Soviet Union against Afghanistan, the Soviet government intensified its repression of dissidents and its Russification policies in Ukraine and other non-Russian republics in the USSR.

## Emergence of Ukrainian Helsinki Monitors

It was in reaction to these policies and in the spirit of the Helsinki Accords that the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in Ukraine came into being on November 9, 1976.

The overall purpose of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was to monitor Soviet compliance with the provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords.

The original ten founding members of the Group included Mykola Rudenko, Oles Berdnyk, Gen. Petro Grigorenko, Ivan Kandyba, Lev Lukyanenko, Oksana Meshko, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Nina Strokata Karavansky and Oleksiy Tykhy.

It is to be remembered that the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, by its own constitution and avowal, was not a political party nor a revolutionary front organization. As a group, they simply considered themselves a legal organization of Soviet citizens, concerned about their rights and freedoms which were guaranteed by the Soviet constitution, but which were constantly abused and violated by the Soviet secret police (KGB) and the lawlessness of the Soviet courts.

Long before the emergence of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the noted British Sovietologist Edward Crankshaw, discussing in The Observer of London the mass arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965-66, wrote for what "crimes" these Ukrainians were arrested:

> "What had these men done? They had discussed among themselves and their friends, ways and means of legally resisting the forcible Russification of Ukraine and the continued destruction of its culture. They possessed books dealing with this problem, some of them written in Czarist times. They possessed notebooks with quotations from the great Ukrainian patriots... They were not advocating secession in any form and even had they done so, there would have been no violation of the constitution... They were deeply concerned because the Moscow government was still persisting in its efforts to blot out the Ukrainian consciousness which even Stalin with his massive deportations and killings failed to do..."

Lyudmila Alexeyeva, a founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Group who is now a resident of the United States, had this to say about members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group:

> "...The Ukrainian Helsinki Group was comprised mainly of participants in the Ukrainian national movement. They knew the essence of the Ukrainian national problem very well--their lives were devoted to it. The pathos in the work of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group consisted of defending the national dignity of Ukraine, its culture and rights to independent development. All the documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in one way or another are connected with this..."

Miss Alexeyeva also cited Document No. 12 of the Moscow Helsinki Group (December 1976) to the effect that "Ukrainians have constituted and constitute today a very substantial part of the contingent of prisoners of conscience, disproportionately greater than the percentage of that nation in the USSR's population."

Accordingly, out of 20 political prisoners in camps for those serving repeated sentences under political articles of the Criminal Code, 13 were Ukrainians; also, Ukrainian women constituted 24% of the inmates of a women's political camp.

Areas of Soviet Russian Repression

Moscow claims that the Soviet Union is a "federation" of 15 "union republics," which the Soviet constitution defines as "sovereign and independent states," enjoying even the right to "freely secede" from the USSR. Ukraine and Byelorussia are even charter members of the United Nations and participate in its subsidiary organizations, such as UNESCO, ILO and so forth. But in reality, the current Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism inherited some of the ugliest features of Czarist imperialism, that is Russification, racial intolerance, anti-religious persecution and chauvinism.

a) Russification: The Russian language, always identified with the throne of Russia in Czarist times, now is synonymous with the Kremlin, the seat of Soviet power.

Inasmuch as Russians comprise a bare half of the total population of the USSR, they constitute the leading elite in the Communist Party, the Soviet armed forces, the security forces and the scientific-economic-managerial complex and administrative apparatus. In such position, the Russians are trying to "mould" a "Soviet man" who would essentially be a "Russian man," speaking the Russian language and espousing Russian culture, customs and mentality.

Today, the tentacles of Russification are far-reaching. They extend into every "union republic," not only the Slavic countries of Ukraine and Byelorussia, but also the non-Slavic countries, such as the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the Caucasian nations of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, and the five Turkic republics of Central Asia--Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan and Kirghizia.

A major all-Union scientific-theoretical conference, held on May 22-24, 1979 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, dwelt on the "Russian Language--the Language of Friendship and Cooperation of the Peoples of the USSR," and decided to expand the teaching of the Russian language in all non-Russian republics, thus giving full endorsement to the policy of Russification.

b) Religious Persecution: Soviet religious policy has been shaped by a complex interplay of ideological and practical considerations. While the underlying principle of Soviet religious policy has been atheism, the totalitarian nature of the regime led it to surround institutional religion with myriad administrative and police controls.

Even though the Soviet constitution and that of the Ukrainian SSR contain provisions guaranteeing freedom of religion and other fundamental rights, the Soviet government genocided the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the 1930s and ruthlessly destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1945-46, subordinating over six million Ukrainian Catholics to Russian Orthodoxy against their will.

Religious minorities in Ukraine, such as Roman Catholics, Evangelical Christians and Baptists, Lutherans, Pentecostals, Seventh-Day Adventists, as well as Jehovah's Witnesses--although they are allowed to function--are persecuted and harassed by the government.

There are some 800,000 to 900,000 Jews in Ukraine, but most of the Jewish communities are dispersed, with only a few synagogues extant.

c) Official Impediments to Emigration: The Ukrainian community in the United States is gravely concerned with the violation of the right of Ukrainian citizens to leave Ukraine of their own free will. Only a few Ukrainian families were allowed to emigrate to the United States, although there are thousands of Ukrainians who have families in America and would like to join them here under the reunion of families plan specifically endorsed by the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords.

But they do not dare to apply for exit visas for fear of repression and persecution. Besides, owing to the nature of internal Soviet regulations, the process in any event is a very long and tedious one. It is a cruel hardship from the start, in that those applying for exit visas are automatically released from their employment without any assurance of their ever obtaining the visas.

d) Assassination of Prominent Ukrainians by the KGB: In the last few years there have been cases of outright killings or incidents causing the death of prominent Ukrainians by the KGB and its hired goons.

A 51-year-old Ukrainian poet, Heliy Snehiriv, died in a KGB hospital in Kiev, according to a Reuters report of January 3, 1979. Heliy Snehiriv died on December 28, 1978 in KGB custody at a hospital where he had been placed several months earlier. Following his arrest in September, 1977, Snehiriv was subjected to intense KGB torture and was isolated from the outside world. On July 27, 1978, Flora Lewis reported in The New York Times that Snehiriv had renounced his Soviet citizenship, saying, "I don't want to remain a citizen of a state that has destroyed the elite of my Ukrainian people, the best part of the peasantry and the intelligentsia, that has distorted and slandered our past and humiliated our present."

Mykhailo Melnyk, a 35-year-old Ukrainian professor, activist and participant in the Ukrainian human and national rights movement, was found dead in the village of Pohreby, near Kiev. The Reuters news service from Moscow reported that Melnyk allegedly committed suicide by poisoning himself on March 6, 1979, after the KGB raided his home.

Volodymyr Ivasiuk, the 30-year-old Ukrainian composer of "Chervona Ruta" and "Vodohray" and other modern Ukrainian songs that became very popular not only in Ukraine but among Ukrainians around the world as well, was found dead in a forest some 10 klms. northwest of Lviv on May 18, 1979. The official autopsy stated that Ivasiuk "committed suicide," but friends of the family contend that he was murdered by the KGB.

His compositions enjoyed immense popularity among Ukrainians in the United States and Canada, as well. He is especially known for his folk songs. According to accounts of his friends, Ivasiuk left his parents' home on April 23, 1979, bound for the conservatory at 5 Boyko Street in Lviv, carrying some music with him. Upon leaving the conservatory, he was picked up by a car, which had been waiting for him. It was the last time Ivasiuk was seen alive. His body, badly beaten, with eyes gouged, was found in a forest on May 18. A five-man team of doctors -- none of them Ukrainian -- declared that he had committed suicide. His friends said that suicide was unlikely because there were no rope burns on his neck nor any other sign of suicide. They also reported that Ivasiuk had been shadowed in the last few months by KGB agents and that the car which picked him up was a KGB vehicle.

Another victim of Soviet terror in Ukraine was Victor Kindratyshyn, 28-year-old Ukrainian artist-sculptor. After terminating his military service in the Soviet army, he graduated from an art school and had his own studio in the town of Kosiv. In 1979 he took part in the All-Union Art Exhibit in Kiev. On December 1, 1979 his body was found with one leg attached to a water pipe in a cellar. Authorities declared that it was a case of "suicide" and told the family not to press any inquiries.

## Systematic Destruction of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

Although persecution, arrests and trials in Ukraine have been part and parcel of the Soviet Russian rule in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group became a top priority target for extinction for obvious reasons: they challenged the very foundation of the Marxist-Leninist system of government and they assailed Russian imperialism and chauvinism.

While in Russia the KGB is arresting Russian dissidents for their opposition to the Communist regime, in Ukraine these arrests have a definite racist-chauvinist character, as they are directed at destroying the essence of the Ukrainian national identity and at eradicating the Ukrainian national consciousness as a powerful force in the struggle for Ukrainian statehood.

Thus, among those being arrested and sentenced in Ukraine are Ukrainian writers, literary critics, journalists, professors, students, artists, painters, scientific workers, historians and representatives of all other strata of society in Ukraine.

* * *

A few months after the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the Soviet government began a systematic and relentless attack against its members. The majority of the original ten were arrested, tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in 1977. During the same year another nine new members joined the group, and in 1978-79 another 18 men and women became members of the Group, reaching a total of 37 members--the largest group numerically of all the other groups in the USSR (Russian, Lithuanian, Armenian and Georgian).

But the KGB and the Soviet courts were working day and night to speedily annihilate the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, with the following painful results: out of 37 members, 22 are now serving various terms; three are in internal exile; three have been released after completing their sentences; one committed suicide and seven have been ousted from the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, there are no visible signs of relaxation of the persecution and repression pursued by the Soviet Russian government in Ukraine, which continues to be an alien power and oppressor of the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is extremely grateful to the U.S. government for its steady support of the Helsinki process, as was forcefully demonstrated by the U.S. delegation to the Helsinki Conference in Madrid in the fall of 1980 and the early spring of 1981.

We are particularly duty-bound to express our gratitude to the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which rightfully understood the basic situation of Ukraine and tried with a considerable degress of success to enlighten the world at large on the true situation of the Ukrainian people under the alien totalitarian rule of Communist Russia.

We pledge our further support of and cooperation with the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation and its delegations to all Helsinki conferences which might be held in the future.

Lev E. Dobriansky
President
UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

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## IN DEFENSE OF THE HUMAN AND NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

## STATEMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE ON THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

### Introduction

The Ukrainian National Association (UNA) was founded in Shamokin, Pa. in 1894 as a non-political Ukrainian American fraternal benefit association with the purpose of assisting Ukrainian immigrants in America in their difficult task of integrating into the American cultural and economic-social system, and thus becoming more effective citizens of their new country. In the last 87 years the UNA has grown into a powerful force, encompassing some 85,000 members in 450 Branches in the United States and Canada and with $46 million plus in assets.

Our members are keenly interested in the fate of their ancestral country, Ukraine, which was conquered by Communist Russia after its independence was destroyed in 1920 and it was made a virtual colonial dependency of Moscow, although it [the so-called Ukrainian SSR] purports to be an "independent and sovereign republic" and was a founding member of the United Nations in 1945.

During the past sixty-odd years, the UNA has been indomitable in endeavoring to call the attention of the U.S. government and the American people and, indeed, the world at large to the tragic plight of the 48-million Ukrainian nation, which saw its Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches destroyed, its cultural and scientific institutions subverted and Russified, and its country inundated with Russian settlers at the expense of the native Ukrainian population which has been subjected to forcible deportation, "voluntary" migration and so forth.

The whole tragic and miserable life of the Ukrainian people can best be attested to by the fact that in 1932-33 some 7 to 10 million Ukrainian men, women and children died of starvation during the man-made famine in Ukraine, organized by the Politburo under Stalin in order to break the resistance of the Ukrainian people to the enslaving system of the enforced collectivization of agriculture.

## The Helsinki Accords and the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

Basic human rights and fundamental freedoms have long been recognized as having valid universal significance and are currently a subject of pressing international concern. They are spelled out in the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Convention Against Discrimination in Education. Both the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR have signed these international covenants, and their representatives boast constantly about this in their massive propaganda drives aimed at the Third World nations.

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has given a new dimension to the humanitarian principles these covenants embody by reaffirming each state-signatory's right to be concerned with the manner in which human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected and implemented by all other signatories.

We submit here that the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR have not lived up to their commitments to these covenants.

We know that the U.S. government as well as other Western governments have accumulated a great deal of evidence detailing wholesale violations of the Helsinki guarantees of civil, religious, human and national rights of the non-Russian peoples, especially the Ukrainian people.

Mrs. Ludmila Alekseeva, the Russian historian and member of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, who was allowed in 1977 to emigrate from the USSR, stated at a press conference on June 8, 1977 in New York:

> "...Repressions in Ukraine are the most severe, enduring and all-embracing; sentences imposed on Ukrainian dissidents are much heavier than those imposed on Russian political prisoners; Ukrainian ex-political prisoners cannot obtain jobs or housing, and frequently they are not allowed to return to Ukraine from exile. My only explanation is that Moscow is very fearful of the secession of Ukraine from the USSR..."

It was to monitor, denounce and oppose these oppressive policies of the Soviet regime in Ukraine that on November 9, 1976 a group of farsighted and courageous Ukrainian men and women established in Kiev the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Group, to be referred to later as the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

It must be stressed at the outset that the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was neither a political party nor a revolutionary-subversive organization. In accordance with Soviet law, the organizers of the Group registered themselves with the government. In a preamble to its statute-bylaws, the Group stated:

> "Our group has no political goals; our task is completely humanitarian: to promote the implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the field of human rights. But we cannot avoid the nationality question: most Ukrainian political prisoners have been sentenced for imaginary or real nationalism. And it is precisely this Ukrainian nationalism that the Soviet government fears most!..."

Other objectives of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were as follows:

1. To promote the familiarization of wide circles of the Ukrainian public with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, so that this international document would be the basis of relations between the individual and the state;
2. To promote free contacts among people and the free exchange of information and ideas;
3. To demand that Ukraine, as a sovereign European state and a member of the United Nations, be represented by its own delegations at all international conferences;
4. To demand the accreditation in Ukraine of representatives of the foreign press and the creation of independent Ukrainian news agencies;

5. To prevail upon the Soviet government to accept written complaints about violations of human and national rights and to impart this information to the states which signed the Helsinki Accords;

6. To compile data and information on the lawlessness in Ukraine and the deprivation of all national rights of Ukrainians living outside the borders of Ukraine (in other republics of the USSR, especially in the Russian SFSR).

Assault on Ukrainian Helsinki Group

The ten founding members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, brave and intrepid, realized fully that in exchange for the insincere promises of the Soviet Union, thirty-two European nations and the United States and Canada signed a document that recognized the postwar territorial acquisitions in Europe of the USSR, which fact created the conditions for strengthening a system that functions and operates as an antithesis to freedom and democracy.

These ten members included Mykola Rudenko, Oles Berdnyk, Petro Grigorenko, Ivan Kandyba, Lev Lukyanenko, Mykola Matusevych, Oksana Meshko, Nina Strokata (Karavansky), Oleksa Tykhy and Myroslav Marynovych.

The founding members comprised both male and female; there were authors, researchers, jurists, a historian, a philosopher, a former professional military man and an engineer.

Barely three months after the Group's founding, Rudenko, Tykhy, Matusevych and Marynovych were arrested and sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment.

During 1977, the following became members of the Group: Petro Sichko (father), Vasyl Sichko (son), Vasyl Striltsiv, Petro Vins, Yosef Zisels, Yuriy Lytvyn, Vasyl Ovsienko, Mykhailo Melnyk and Nadia Svitlychna. Subsequently, still other Ukrainian men and women, some in labor camps and in exile, joined the Group. They included Vyacheslav Chornovil, Olha Heyko, Mykola Horbal, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Zinoviy Krasivsky, Yaroslav Lesiv, Oksana Popovych, Bohdan Rebryk, Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, Petro Rozumny, Iryna Senyk, Stefania Shabatura, Yuriy Shukhevych, Danylo Shumuk, Ivan Sokulsky, Vasyl Stus, Sviatoslav Karavansky and Volodymyr Malynkovych.

Thus, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was the most numerous in comparison with the Russian, Lithuanian, Armenian and Georgian Helsinki Groups.

Out of some 38 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, 22 are now serving various terms of imprisonment, three are in internal exile, three have been released, one committed suicide (Mykhailo Melnyk), and seven have been ousted from the USSR--Gen. Petro Grigorenko, Nina Strokata, Nadia Svitlychna, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Volodymyr Malynkovych, Petro Vins and Leonid Plyushch, who was ousted from Ukraine before the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was established, but who had joined the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group operating in the West.

## Activities and Impact Abroad

From the first days of its existence the Ukrainian Helsinki Group began the activities it had outlined in its charter document --gathering and disseminating information on the status of human and national rights in Ukraine.

Inasmuch as the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was conceived as a legal institution of Soviet citizens and not as an anti-government organization, all its materials were forwarded to both the Soviet government and to the states which signed the Helsinki Accords, as well as to international organizations and individuals concerned with human rights issues all over the world.

Moreover, members of the Group believed that their activities were sanctioned not only by the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords, but also by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights issued on December 10, 1948, which guarantees the right "to receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

But the KGB, the indispensable organ of the Soviet government, evidently thought differently. One of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's documents, Memorandum No. 7, describes what happened:

> "...Hundreds of letters and complaints from all corners of Ukraine began to pour in to the members of the Group as soon as people heard of its formation. This in itself is evidence of the scale of the violations of law in Ukraine. We were preparing a detailed report on all this for the government of the Ukrainian SSR and the participants of the Helsinki Conference. But the KGB organs decided to inflict a sudden blow: on February 5, 1977, Mykola Rudenko, the head of the Group, was arrested, as was Group member Oleksa Tykhy, in whose 'case" the search warrant was issued. In this instance the organs of the KGB and the procuracy of the Donets Region... cleaned out M. Rudenko's entire literary archives, taking away even his scientific works on economy and cosmogony..."

These were but the first of dozens of searches, arrests and trials that followed during the course of five years of the Group's existence. And yet, its members managed to compile an immense amount of documentation of rights abuses in Ukraine. They issued, in addition to the charter declaration, eighteen memoranda, at least seven extensive information bulletins, and numerous statements, manifestos, letters, special appeals and petitions. Not all of these documents reached the West, but those that got through could fill several volumes.

An editorialentitled, "The Ukrainian Example," which appeared in the July 6, 1977 issue of The Washington Post, very cogently perceived the very essence of the Rudenko-Tykhy trial, to be followed by many other trials, when it said:

> "Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy, newly sentenced to harsh camp-and-exile terms in Soviet Ukraine, are dissidents with a difference. They demanded not just that the Kremlin live up to the human rights guarantees it accepted in the Helsinki agreement. They also demanded that Moscow respect the Helsinki guarantees for 'national minorities.' That the Soviet Union, like any other totalitarian state, fears a contagion of individual rights is well known. No less important is its resistance to meaningful 'national' rights for the 100-plus ethnic or national groups within its borders. Russians, or Great Russians, are a minority in the country they largely control. Of the others, the Ukrainians are the largest (50 million), richest, most sensitively located and historically the most assertive..."

The overall problems which concerned the Ukrainian Helsinki Group encompassed the following issues, considered to be of vital interest to the Ukrainian people.

1. Resistance to the official policy of Russification of the Ukrainian language and literature, as well as Ukrainian national and historical traditions;

2. Opposition to religious persecution in Ukraine, which

neither stopped nor abated with the Soviet Union's supposed adherence to the Helsinki Accords. Not only did Moscow abolish the independent Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in Ukraine in the mid-1930s, but it also brutally destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1946 in Western Ukraine and subordinated some six million Ukrainian Catholics to Russian Orthodoxy against their will;

3. Reunion of families and the right of emigration was also high on the agenda of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. The Ukrainian community in the United States was and continues to be gravely concerned with the violation of the right of Ukrainian citizens in Ukraine to leave Ukraine of their own free will. Only a handful of Ukrainian families were allowed to emigrate to the United States, although there are thousands of Ukrainians who have relatives in the United States and would like to join them in America, but they do not dare to apply for exit visas for fear of repression and persecution. Owing to the particular nature of internal Soviet regulations, the process of securing exit visas constitutes a cruel hardship, often dismissal from employment and political persecution;

4. Despite the fact that the USSR agreed in Helsinki to contribute to a "freer movement of humans and ideas," the Soviet government forbids any books, newspapers or other publications printed outside Ukraine to be brought into Ukraine. There are some 90 Ukrainian- and English-language publications on Ukraine in the United States, but not a single one is allowed in Ukraine;

5. The Right of Ukraine to Statehood was raised by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in its Memorandum No. 5 (February 15, 1977), in which it stated: "...Not the individual for the

State, but the State for the individual... We are an Association whose name is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics... But every nation should be a free agent within this Association and independent in its creative spirit... Thus the most radical demand of the spirit of the Ukrainian Nation, for itself and fraternal peoples, is full sovereignty of creative manifestation in all areas of spiritual and economic life. Nothing on earth can prevent the embodiment of this idea into visible forms of historical reality, for this is the will of evolution..."

## Conclusion

When the leaders of 34 states gathered in Helsinki in the summer of 1975 along with the Soviet Union and signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, few could have foreseen the impact the agreement would have in the Soviet Union. It is true that the Accords granted Moscow recognition of its territorial conquests in Europe, but they also extracted some concessions in the field of human rights and freedom, guarantees that already existed in the Soviet constitution and innumerable international covenants, signed by the USSR.

The very fact of this acquiescence to the principles of human rights and fundamental freedom by the USSR engendered a new human rights movement in the Russian Republic and the movement for national and human rights in such non-Russian countries of the USSR, as Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia and Georgia.

The Helsinki Accords gave rise to a new ferment and upsurge of hope in Eastern Europe for a genuine renewal of freedom of individuals and states alike, such as the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which became a manifestation of that hope.

As for Ukrainians in the United States, and in Canada, South

America, Europe and Australia, it was a rallying point for a new surge of activities on behalf of their kin in enslaved Ukraine.

We are extremely grateful to the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the U.S. Delegation to the Helsinki Conference in Madrid in 1980 and in 1981, which fully understood the plight of the Ukrainian people and did their best to make that plight known to the world and redress the grievances inflicted by the Soviet government upon the Ukrainian people.

We pledge our further support and cooperation with the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe and its further championing the principles of human and national rights for all the captive peoples of the world.

John O. Flis
President
UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Jersey City, N.J.
November 27, 1981